

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

JUNE, 1891

No. 6

### GLIMPSES OF THE RAILROAD IN HISTORY

THE statement that the world's whole stock of money of every kind—gold, silver, and paper—would purchase only about one-third of its railroads is most suggestive. "Almost every distinctive feature of modern business," writes Professor Hadley, "whether good or bad, finds in railroad history at once its chief cause and its fullest development."

Statistics have become with much handling apparently petrified, and in their association with rails and railroads have reached such extraordinary proportions that they fail to convey ideas which can be readily grasped and comprehended by the ordinary mind. When we read that there are three hundred thousand miles of rails in the United States alone, enough in length to make twelve steel girdles around the earth, it creates no deeper impression than the mere fact reiterated that "the world is round and like a ball, seems swinging in the air." Yet there has never been anything more wonderful in history than the invention and establishment of the railroad; and the problems which have confronted the wise men of the present century in securing the results by which millions of travellers are constantly passing with celerity and safety from one part of a country to the other have been invested with romantic interest from the beginning. The true story has all the effective qualities of fable with vastly more color and picturesque fascination.

All efforts to harness steam into a propelling power, to bring it under the control of the human intellect for practical purposes, were derided for many centuries by the incredulous public, and the heroic men who were foremost in schemes of invention and contrivances to this end were regarded with commiseration as victims of a harmless form of lunacy. In our peculiar age they would have been called "cranks." They had no precedents from which to borrow useful information, and no guides in their experiments. The intellect and ingenuity of almost every civilized country on the face of the globe came into exercise, more or less, on the subject, and yet nothing of practical importance to the world in the way of travel on land or water was achieved until 1807, when Robert Fulton brought

the steamboat into every-day use. That great event dates backward only eighty-four years.

There was then but one solitary little locomotive in existence, that of the bold, erratic inventor, Richard Trevithick of London, and this was powerless except on a level surface; it could neither make steam nor draw a heavy load. The following year, 1808, Trevithick constructed a short, crude tramway track in London, upon which he experimented with a small steam-carriage, named "Catch-me-who-can." He subsequently made an unsuccessful attempt to carry a tunnel under the Thames river; and he invented many valuable devices but brought only a few into public notice, and reaped very little advantage from any of them.

The germ of the knowledge of the immense expansive power of steam and its possible utility may be found in the far background. A steam-engine is believed to have existed twenty-one centuries ago, when Alexandria was the centre of the commerce of the world, the home of Euclid the great geometrician, and of many wise and learned men, a city containing the wealthiest and most civilized population extant. Hero was an eminent writer of the time, and he has placed upon permanent record certain descriptions of a number of unique machines, and sketched a curious common-sense method of opening temple doors by the action of fire on an altar, which is said to embrace all the elements, with the single exception that the expanding fluid was air instead of steam, of the machine invented or reinvented by the second Marquis of Worcester in 1663, generally regarded as the first real steam-engine in history.

Traces are found all along the centuries of the slow growth into form of the idea which has resulted in appropriating to practical uses the forces of steam. In 1571, for instance, Matthesius described in one of his sermons a machine through which "tremendous effects" could be produced by the "volcanic action of a small quantity of confined vapor." Leonardo da Vinci, the great painter, scientist, and inventor, described a steam-gun in the early part of the same century which he called "Architonnerre," made of copper. The steam was generated by permitting water in a closed vessel to fall on surfaces heated by a charcoal fire, and the sudden expansion would eject a ball of considerable size. In Spain, as early as 1543, Blasco da Garay, a Spanish naval officer under Charles V., is reported to have moved a ship at the rate of two or three miles an hour with an apparatus of which a "vessel of boiling water" formed a part; but the king shook his head and frowningly forbade its repetition, saying he "could not have his liege subjects scalded to death with hot water on his ships!" England in 1648 was convulsed with laughter over a witty discourse from



EDWARD SOMERSET, SECOND MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

*[From an old print.]*

the learned bishop of Chester, in which he recommended the application of the power of confined steam to the construction of a "flying castle in the air," to the chiming of bells, to the reeling of yarn, and to the rocking of the cradle.

It remained, however, for Edward Somerset, the second Marquis of Worcester, to first apply the expansive properties of steam to actual work—the lifting of water for necessary purposes at Vauxhall, near London. The life of this nobleman forms one of the most romantic chapters in English history. He spent a large fortune in experiments, and his steam-

engine was unquestionably a most wonderful and valuable production. But he failed in convincing his contemporaries of its importance, or in forming a commercial company to introduce it to public uses, the men of his time not being sufficiently intelligent to appreciate or understand its worth. He was a learned, studious, upright, public-spirited man of genius, and a skillful, persevering, far-sighted mechanic. But his fate was that of nearly all early inventors; he died in penury, unsuccessful.

These modern marvels of the railway before our eyes, which have become such matter-of-fact, commonplace associations with our every-day life, have not sprung into existence—as it is well to remember—through any miraculous agency. They have unfolded out of the past, from roots firmly planted in a remoter past, and it has required ages of human ingenuity and heroic effort and supreme patience to make such a condition of affairs possible. The story of scientific experiments, experiences, and heart-breaking failures, with graphic sketches of the long line of clever, ambitious, and disappointed men who have figured in them, would fill a score of volumes of singular and thrilling interest. The thought which has survived through the centuries, although frequently half-strangled, has continued to grow, and each fresh mind that has taken it up and turned it over has contributed more or less to its vitality, strength, and magnitude, until it has finally gained the momentum resulting in the evolution and development within the last six decades of the immense railway interest of the United States, upon which over two millions of human beings are now dependent for their daily bread.

It was found in the early years of this century much easier to construct useful steam-engines than steamboats; but the moving of land-carriages by steam was far more difficult than either of the two. Tramways were first built for the transit of coal in the mining districts of England during the period between 1602 and 1649. They were made across fields, the proprietors of which received a certain rent for the "wayleave," which term is still employed in arrangements of this character. The tracks were simply wooden beams, and the vehicle was drawn by one horse. A hundred years afterward an important improvement was introduced in the substitution of cast-iron rails, fixed in parallel lines on cross wooden sleepers. These tramways were multiplied rapidly toward the end of the eighteenth century, and large sums of money were expended in their construction. They were so far perfected that the inventors of locomotives had very little to do in the preparation of hard, smooth roads, for their experiments in propelling wheeled vehicles. Notwithstanding the interest taken in the railway projects of Richard Trevithick, the public at large



remained skeptical. Who could have anticipated the progression in locomotive manufacture and utility which was to be chronicled in 1891? The accompanying illustrations recite their own annals.

George Stephenson was meanwhile industriously at work. Yet he did



*[From an old print.]*

not build his first locomotive until 1814. He was a most interesting personage and something of a wag. He often made most amusing applications of his inventive powers, once connecting the cradles of his neighbors' wives with the smoke-jacks in their chimneys, thus relieving them from constant attendance upon their infants. He fished at night with a

submarine lamp, which attracted the fish from all sides, and gave him wonderful luck. He placed a watch which a friend asked him to repair in the oven "to cook," his quick eye having noted that the wheels were clogged by the oil congealed by cold. He also gave colloquial instruction to his fellow-workmen. The Stockton and Darlington railroad was projected for the purpose of securing transportation to tide-water for the valuable coal lands of Durham. Stephenson's engines were used to haul coal trains, but passenger coaches were all drawn by horses. About the



GEORGE STEPHENSON, 1781-1848.

same time the preliminary surveys were made for the Manchester and Liverpool railroad in the face of a strong opposition. The surveyors were sometimes driven from their work by a mob armed with sticks and stones, a movement urged on by land proprietors and those interested in the lines of coaches on the highway. The bill was finally carried through parliament, and Stephenson warmly advocated the use of locomotives to the exclusion of horses. The celebrated reply of a writer in the *Quarterly Review* was, "What can be more palpably absurd and ridiculous than the prospect held out of locomotives traveling *twice as fast* as stage-coaches?"

We would as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet-rockets as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine going at such a rate!"

It was during Stephenson's examination before a committee of the House of Commons, in relation to this contemplated railroad, that he was asked, "Suppose, now, one of your engines to be going at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and that a cow were to stray upon the line and get in the way of the engine; would not that be a very awkward circumstance?" Stephenson replied, "Yes, *very* awkward—for the *cow*!" Then, again, he was asked if men and animals would not be frightened by the red-hot smoke-pipe. "But how would they know it was not *painted*?" was his quick retort.

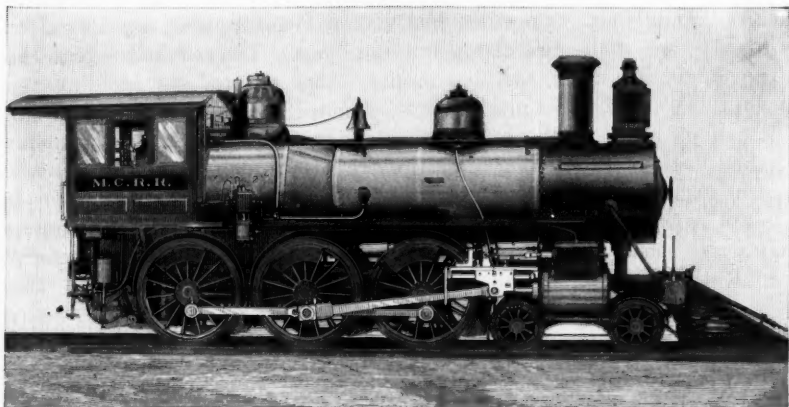
The railroad was finally built with Stephenson as principal construct-

ing engineer. He planned all details, designed the bridges, machinery, engines, turn-tables, switches, and crossings. Among other great achievements on this line was a pioneer tunnel a mile and a half long, from the station at Liverpool to Edgehill; also the Sankey viaduct, a brick structure of nine arches of fifty feet span each, costing forty-five thousand pounds, noteworthy even in these days. Yet when this line approached completion it was expected to use horses. The locomotive had no outspoken advocate, and Stephenson was cautious. Said one eminent writer, "Nothing can do more harm to the adoption of railways than the promulgation of such nonsense as that we shall see locomotives traveling at the rate of twelve miles an hour!"

General Horace Porter writes: "The first railway on which passengers were carried was the Stockton and Darlington, opened September 27, 1825, with a freight train, or, as it is called in England, a 'goods' train, but which also carried a number of excursionists. An engine which was the result of many years of labor and experiment on the part of Stephenson was used on this train. Stephenson mounted it and acted as driver;



TREVITHICK'S LOCOMOTIVE, 1804.



TEN-WHEELED PASSENGER LOCOMOTIVE, 1891.

his bump of caution was evidently largely developed, for, to guard against accidents from the recklessness of the speed, he arranged to have a signalman on horseback ride in advance of the engine to warn the luckless trespasser of the fate which awaited him if he should get in the way of a train moving with such startling velocity. The next month, October, it was decided that it would be worth while to attempt the carrying of passengers, and a daily coach, modeled after the stage-coach and called the 'Experiment,' was put on, Monday, October 10, 1825, which carried six passengers inside and from fifteen to twenty outside. The engine with its light load made the trip (twelve miles) in about two hours. The fare from Stockton to Darlington was one shilling, and each passenger was allowed fourteen pounds of baggage. The limited amount of baggage will appear to the ladies of the present day as niggardly in the extreme, but they must recollect that the band-box was then the popular form of portmanteau for women, the Saratoga trunk had not been invented, and the muscular baggage-smasher of modern times had not yet set out upon his career of destruction." \*

While this small measure of success was secured the locomotive was still an imperfect, poorly regulated machine, and moved but little faster than a horse could walk. Acceleration was soon attained by sending the waste steam up the chimney so as to cause a powerful draught in the fire; a rapid generation of steam was the consequence, and by this appliance, along with the multitubular boiler, the engine shot forward with more energy. The directors of the Liverpool and Manchester railroad finally, after long debate and much opposition, decided to offer a reward of five hundred pounds for the best locomotive capable of drawing a gross weight of twenty tons at the rate of ten miles an hour. The conditions required a run of seventy miles, and five months were allowed for building the engines. A circular was printed and published throughout the kingdom. The famous battle of the locomotives (described in the January number of this magazine) took place on the 6th of October, 1829, and created intense excitement. A large portion of the community believed such an attempt to trifle with human life should be suppressed. Four locomotives only were entered for the prize, and but two of these moved successfully, the "Rocket" of Stephenson and the "Novelty" of John Ericsson. The

\* The American Railway. Its Construction, Development, Management, and Appliances. By Thomas Curtis Clarke, John Bogart, M. N. Forney, E. P. Alexander, H. G. Prout, General Horace Porter, Theodore Voorhees, Benjamin Norton, Arthur T. Hadley, Thomas L. James, Charles Francis Adams, B. B. Adams, Jr., with an introduction by Thomas M. Cooley. More than 200 illustrations. 8vo, pp. 456. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

latter was the general favorite, as it was the lighter and more elegantly built of the two, but it broke down before the final point was reached, and the "Rocket" won the race. The success of the trial was so complete that the new railroad was equipped with locomotives, and that course of commercial enterprise was then inaugurated which has in sixty-two years assumed such world-wide importance.

In the spring of the same year, 1829, one of Stephenson's locomotives arrived in New York, and was exhibited for some time in the yard of Edward Dunscomb in Water street, its wheels raised above the ground and kept running for the benefit of the curious. In the *Diary of Philip Hone*, ex-mayor of New York, are the following entries: "May 27, 1829. Immediately after dinner at home I took Miss Helen Kane to the ship-yards to witness the launch of the ship *Eric*, a fine vessel, intended for the Havre line of packets—whence I went to Abeel & Dunscomb's foundry to meet a large party of gentlemen who were assembled by invitation to see one of the new locomotive engines in operation, which was recently imported from England for the use of the railroad belonging to the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. Thursday, May 28. The second locomotive steam-engine which was imported for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company was set in operation this afternoon at the works of the Messrs. Kemble, in presence of a large number of gentlemen, and succeeded as well as the one I saw yesterday at Abeel & Dunscomb's."

Horatio Allen who visited England for the express purpose of witnessing the celebrated trial of the locomotives, was the purchaser of these machines for the new railroad which the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company had built from their mines in Pennsylvania to the terminus of their canal at Honesdale. In trying one of them subsequently the track proved too light for their use, and they were laid aside and never set to regular work.

Meanwhile Peter Cooper distinguished himself by constructing a little experimental locomotive that was tried the following year, 1830, on the new Baltimore and Ohio railroad, which, begun in 1828, had laid its rails as far as Ellicott's Mills. This locomotive ran thirteen miles in less than an hour, one carriage being occupied by thirty-six passengers, and Ross Winans declared it superior to any yet built by Stephenson in the facility with which it flitted round short curves. The whole machine was no longer than a hand-car of the present day. Whether the motive power of this railroad should be horses or steam had long been an open question. Mr. M. N. Forney writes: "It was probably about this time that the animated sketch of the car by Peter Parley was made. At a meeting of the Master Mechanics' Association in New York in 1875, in the build-



BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD, 1830.

[From an old print.]

use of steam instead of horsepower to the South Carolina Railway Company, and during the summer of 1830 Mr. E. L. Miller of Charleston, who had been in England at the time of the trial of the locomotives, ordered an engine built from his own plans at the West Point Foundry. It was called the "Best Friend," and, reaching Charleston in October, was tried in November and December, 1830. The next year a second locomotive, designed by Horatio Allen, was built for this railroad, called the "South Carolina," and is said to have been the first steam-locomotive in the world with eight wheels.

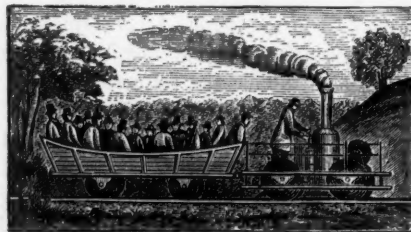
About the same time the Mohawk and Hudson railroad ordered the third locomotive from the West Point Foundry, called the "De Witt Clinton," with which successful trial trips were made in the summer of 1831 from Albany to Schenectady, and later in the year a fully equipped passenger train made regular daily trips over this road. The original silhouette picture of the first train of cars on this first railroad in the state of New York appears in the engraving of the entrance hall to the late Thurlow Weed's New York home,\* hanging in a frame upon the wall. The picturesque figure of the famous Thurlow Weed is easily distinguishable among the passengers.

While the Stephensons gained absolute authority upon all subjects of

\* *Magazine of American History* for January, 1888. Volume xix., pp. 5-6.

ing which bears his name, Peter Cooper related with great glee how on the trial trip he had beaten a gray horse attached to another car. The coincidence that one of Peter Parley's horses is a gray one might lead to the inference that it was the same horse that Peter Cooper beat, a deduction which perhaps has as sound a basis to rest on as many historical conclusions of more importance."

Horatio Allen recommended the



FIRST AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVE, 1830.

[From an old print.]



railway engineering in England, and their lines were taken as models and imitated by other engineers, and many of their locomotives were imported to this country, it soon became apparent that America must invent and act for herself. English patterns did not work well on this side of the water. Thomas Curtis Clarke, in the first chapter of *The American Railway*, says of the Stephensons: "Their locomotives had very little side play to their wheels and could not turn around short curves. They accordingly preferred to make their lines as straight as possible, and were willing to spend vast sums to get easy grades and gentle curves. Monumental bridges, lofty stone viaducts, and deep cuts or tunnels at every hill marked this stage of railway construction in England, which was imitated on all European lines. As with the railway so with the locomotive. The Stephenson type, once fixed, has remained unchanged (in Europe)



PULLMAN PARLOR CAR, 1891.

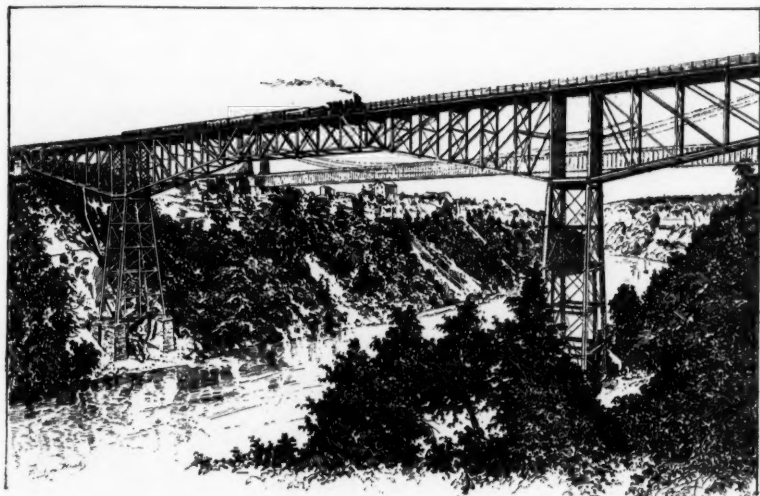
except in detail to the present day. European locomotives have increased in weight and power and in perfection of material and workmanship, but their general features are like those built by the great firm of Stephenson before 1840. When we come to the United States we find an entirely different state of things. The key to the evolution of the American railway is the contempt for authority displayed by our engineers, and the untrammelled way in which they invented and applied whatever they

thought would answer the best purpose, regardless of precedent. When we began to build our railways in 1831 we followed English patterns for a short time. Our engineers soon saw that unless vital changes were made our money would not hold out, and our railway system would be very short."

Horatio Allen was the first to suggest the swiveling truck, which was invented for the Mohawk and Hudson railroad by John B. Jervis, its chief engineer, in 1831. This truck, placed under the front end of an engine, enabled it to run around curves of almost any radius. The imported English locomotives were constantly running off the rails on rough tracks; therefore, equalizing beams or levers were invented and patented which proved so valuable that they have been adopted in Canada, Australia, Mexico, and South America, and are absolutely essential to the success of railways in new countries. Ross Winans presently invented some important improvements in cars, both for passengers and freight. The four-wheeled English car danced along on a rough track on three wheels, but by the application of a pair of four-wheeled swiveling trucks, one under each end of a car, it would accommodate itself to inequalities and follow its locomotive round the sharpest curves. Robert L. Stevens, son of the distinguished John L. Stevens, was engaged in building the Camden and Amboy railroad in 1830, and first laid the standard form of rail known as the "Stevens rail" in this country and as the "Vignolles" in Europe. He purchased a locomotive of the Stephenson's soon after the trial at Rainhill, called the "John Bull," and its first public trial on the partially built road at Bordentown occurred in November, 1831. This old engine was exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876. The railroad was opened for traffic about 1833, and the engines used were made from designs of Stevens, at Hoboken. The American locomotives were all arranged to burn anthracite coal; the English used bituminous coal.

Inventions and improvements soon produced, it will be seen, a typical American locomotive. It is no part of the purpose of this paper to trace in detail the changes and improvements which have been of such vital consequence to the public in the matter of personal safety. "To-day," writes Mr. H. G. Prout, "trains weighing four hundred tons thunder by at seventy-five miles an hour, and we take their safety as a matter of course and seldom think of the tremendous possibilities of destruction stored up in them. In a daylight ride on a locomotive we come to realize how slender is the rail and how fragile its fastenings compared with the ponderous machine which they carry. We see what a trifling movement of a switch makes the difference between life and death. We learn how short

the look ahead must often be, and how close danger sits on either hand. But it is only in a night ride that we learn how dependent the engineer must be, after all, upon the faithful vigilance of others. . . . When one understands how many minute mechanical details, and how many minds and hands must work together in harmony to insure its safe arrival at its destination, he must marvel at the safety of railroad travel. . . . Mark Twain would doubtless conclude that traveling by rail is much the safest profession that a man can adopt. It is unquestionably true that it is safer than traveling by coach or on horseback, and probably it is safer



THE NIAGARA CANTILEVER BRIDGE.

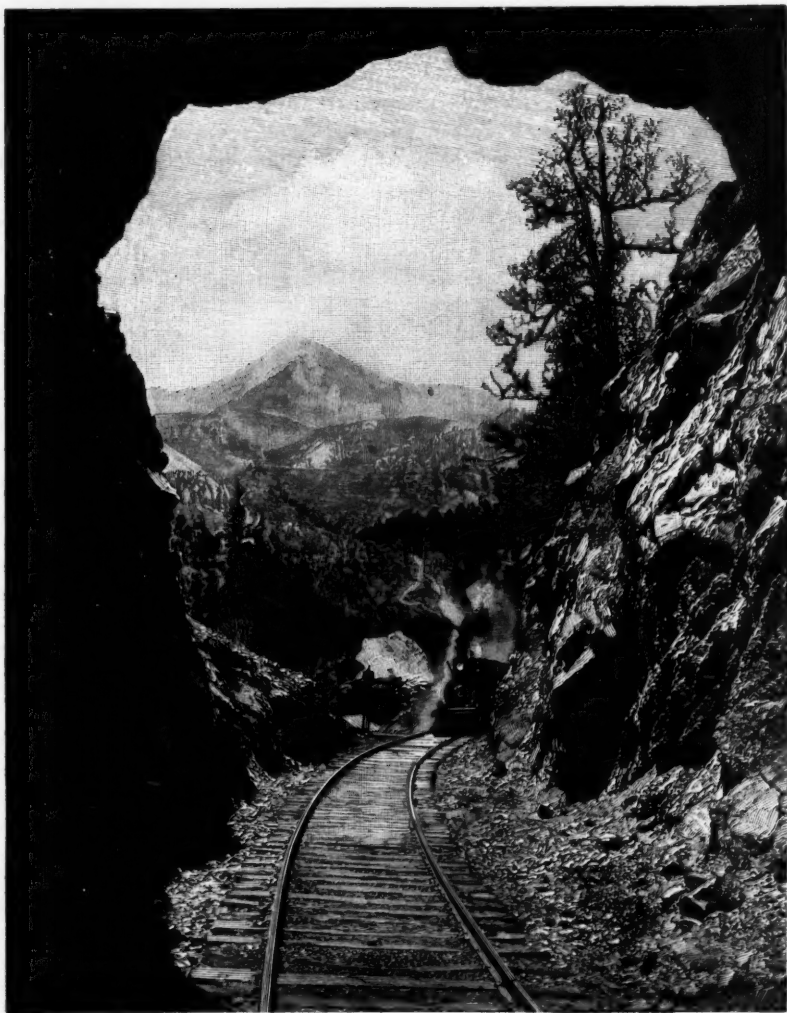
than any other method of getting over the earth's surface that man has contrived, unless it may be by ocean steamer; if any one wants anything safer he must walk."

The first ten years of experience exhibited great progress in the practical operation of railroad trains, but the railroad was not yet a business success. Even after locomotives had demonstrated their capabilities and each improved engine had shown an encouraging increase in velocity, the wildest flights of fancy never pictured the speed attained in later years. In 1835 Simon Cameron, in a public speech advocating a railroad between Harrisburg and Philadelphia, predicted that there were persons within sound of his voice who would live to see a passenger take his breakfast in

Harrisburg and his supper in Philadelphia on the same day. "That is all very well to tell the boys," said one of his friends on the platform when he finished, "but you and I are not such infernal fools as to believe it." Both men lived to travel the whole distance in a little over two hours. Every new railroad was vigorously opposed. The country people were afraid of them. An eloquent divine in Connecticut went about lecturing to the effect that railroads would necessitate the building of a great many insane asylums, as women and children in the rural districts would be driven wild with terror at seeing those "dreadful locomotives" rushing along the fields without anything to draw them! Accidents were in those early days painfully frequent. Cars ran off the track, locomotives toppled over, trains ran into each other. Philip Hone writes in his diary in the spring of 1842: "This powerful agent, steam, which regulates just now the affairs of the world, has not only almost annihilated distance and overcome the obstacles which nature seems to have interposed to locomotion, and reduced the value of most of the articles in use for which we formerly depended upon the labor of men's hands, but it has become a substitute for war in the philosophical plan of keeping down the superabundance of the human race and thinning off the excessive population of which political economists have from time to time expressed so much dread. Scarcely a day passes that we do not hear of some locomotive running off the railroad or some steamboat being blown up, and hundreds of human beings suddenly summoned into another world, for which most of them are unprepared. These are some of the wholesale operations of steam, and they are most deplorably frequent."

The chapter of *The American Railway* which treats of safety in railroad travel is one of the most attractive in the volume.\* Its readers cannot fail to become intelligently acquainted with some of the chief devices by which the locomotive is now guided, regulated, and controlled. Mr. Prout says that "the value of mechanical appliances for safety is perhaps as often overrated as underrated. Of all the train accidents that have happened in the United States in the last sixteen years nearly ten per cent. were due to negligence in operation and seventeen per cent. were unexplained. Of these no doubt many were due to negligence, and many that were attributed to defects of track and equipment would have been prevented had men done their duty." The genius of the engineer has been taxed quite as

\* We are indebted to the courtesy of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, for the view of Cameron's Cone from the portal of the majestic tunnel on opposite page; also for the pictures of the "Pullman Parlor Car," the "Niagara Cantilever Bridge," and the "London Underground Railway System."



PORTAL OF TUNNEL, SHOWING CAMERON'S CONE, COLORADO.

(COLORADO MIDLAND RAILWAY, PIKE'S PEAK ROUTE.)



much, apparently, in overcoming natural obstacles in the building of modern railroads as in the early crude appliances to move land-carriages by steam. Locomotives now climb mountains which a few years ago no vehicle on wheels could ascend. Their climbing capabilities upon smooth rails were not known until 1852, when Mr. B. H. Latrobe of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad tried a zigzag gradient over a hill about two miles long, with success. The location of some of the railroads in the western part of this continent is picturesque beyond expression, and descriptions of how engineers are often suspended over deep gorges by ropes, in making preliminary measurements for bridges or for roads in the mountain sides, read like fiction. In the construction of the Niagara cantilever bridge, a short distance below the great falls, the workmen were suspended on a platform hung by ropes from a skeleton structure projecting without any apparent support over the rushing Niagara torrent, which at this point has a velocity in the centre of sixteen and a half miles per hour, and forms constant whirlpools and eddies near the shores. The floor of the bridge is two hundred and thirty-nine feet above the water, and the total length of it is nine hundred and ten feet. The clear span over the river between the towers is four hundred and seventy feet.

The construction of tunnels involves peculiar and even greater skill. Solid rock is generally less to be dreaded than soft soil, and in long tunnels the ventilation is an exceedingly difficult problem. In a mountainous country like Colorado the problems multiply, and it requires trained judgment and special experience in an engineer to locate a line and make it fit the country. The level of the track must always be kept well above the surface of the ground in order to insure good drainage and freedom from snowdrifts. The life of an engineer while making surveys is never easy. His duties demand the physical strength of a drayman and the mental accuracy of a professor, both exerted at the same time and during heat and cold, rain and sunshine. "An engineer once, standing behind his instrument, was surrounded by a crowd of natives anxious to know all about it. He explained the processes, using many learned words, and flattered himself that he had made a deep impression upon his hearers. At last one old woman spoke up, with an expression of great contempt on her face: 'Wall! if I knowed as much as you do I'd quit engineerin' and keep a grocery.'" The construction of the London underground road was a monster undertaking. Its tunnels were not only under streets but under heavy buildings. There are more and longer tunnels now of various descriptions in Europe than in America; but it is said the bridges of the United States alone would reach from New York to Liverpool.



Every American citizen who desires to be well informed should peruse John Bogart's chapter on "Feats of Railway Engineering," which is written in such clear, forcible language as can be thoroughly understood irrespective of scientific training. The author of it was in Colorado in the summer of 1887 with some engineer friends, and "saw a train of very intelligent donkeys loaded with ore from the mines, to which no access could be had but by those sure-footed beasts. Within a year one of



LONDON UNDERGROUND RAILWAY SYSTEM.

that party of engineers had located and was building a railway to those very mines. No heights seem too great to-day, no valleys too deep, no cañons too forbidding, no streams too wide; if commerce demands, the engineer will respond and the railway will be built."

Ex-Postmaster Thomas L. James has given a most impressive as well as enlightening description of the postal service of the United States, remarking very forcibly: "There is no position in the government more exacting than that of a postal clerk, and none that has so many require-

ments. He must not only be sound 'in mind and limb,' but possessed of more than ordinary intelligence and a retentive memory. His work is constant and his only recreation study. He must not only be proficient in his own immediate work, but he must have a general knowledge of the entire country, so that the correspondence he handles shall reach its destination at the earliest possible moment. He must know no night or day. He must be impervious to heat or cold. Rushing along at a rate of forty or fifty miles an hour in charge of what is sacred—the correspondence of the people—catching his meals as he may, at home only semi-occasionally, the wonder is that men competent to discharge the duties of so high a calling can be found for so small a compensation and for so uncertain a tenure of official life. The last and greatest need of the postal service is the total and complete elimination of partisan considerations as affecting appointments and removals in the working force." The methods of carrying letters from one point to another a century ago has been graphically and elaborately described in this magazine.\* The contrast so sharply defined requires no repetition here.

One word may not be out of place as to the relative comfort of railway travel in the decade prior to 1850 and now. Thousands of persons are living who remember how the passengers were roasted in winter unless they sat in the middle of the car—where they froze; and of the straight-back, springless, narrow seats, windows without screens, dust intolerable, but which must be tolerated, and tallow candles at night; when sleeping-cars, coupon-tickets, baggage-cars, and double railroad tracks were unknown. General Porter speaks of the modern railroad car as having been evolved from the old-fashioned English stage-coach. During that process of evolution some very amusing as well as painful incidents occurred. In the summer of 1847 a lady was traveling on one of the central railroads of New Jersey, the train consisting of one passenger-car and the engine, and the doors between the two vehicles were ajar. She suddenly discovered the conductor and fireman throwing buckets at each other alongside the engine, and, supposing it done in anger and that the train would of course be wrecked thereby, she was so terrified that she fainted away. The men, who were only at play, were terror-stricken in their turn, and, stopping the train, one of the offending buckets was used by the conductor in bringing water from a rivulet near by with which to restore consciousness to the sufferer. Not long since, the president of the nation was carried

\* "Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster and Postmaster-General, The Early New York Post office" By Rev. Ashbel G. Vermilye, D.D. *Magazine of American History* for February, 1885, Vol. XIII. p. 113.

over the same route in a car furnished with oriental elegance, heated by steam and lighted with electricity, to which was attached ten other cars, including a library, a dining-hall, a smoker, a sleeper, a complete barber's outfit and bath-rooms, all connected by vestibules so that passengers might move from one to another without danger or inconvenience.

It is well to take observations occasionally and note the effect of the railway upon the human race. Mr. Clarke says it has changed the whole basis of civilization from military to industrial. "The talent, the energy, the money which is expended in maintaining the whole of Europe as an armed camp is in America expended in building and maintaining railways, with their army of two millions of men. . . . American railways have nearly abolished landlordism in Ireland, and they will one day abolish it in England and over the continent of Europe. So long as Europe was dependent for food upon its own fields the owner of those fields could fix his own rental. This he can no longer do, owing to the cheapness of transportation from Australia and from the prairies of America." The energies and activities, the powers and possibilities developed by the locomotive have acted and reacted in every phase of our national life, and are still increasing in geometrical progression. Mr. E. P. Alexander writes: "In the practical management of railroad affairs problems are of constant occurrence which touch almost every pursuit to which men give themselves, whether of finance, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, science, or politics; and the methods, forms, and principles under which current railroad management is being developed (for it is by no means at a standstill) are the result of the necessities imposed by these multiplying problems acting within the constraints of corporate existence."

The theme is as attractive as it is colossal. The work to which attention is directed touches all sides of the railroad, which touches all sides of human life. It contains welcome and important information, with object lessons on every page. Among the facts stated worth remembering is that the United States has more than six times the mileage of any other country in the world, and that there are but five other countries that have even a tenth as much railway. B. B. Adams, Jr., remarks: "Science and invention, machinery and improved methods, have effected great changes in the railroad art, but the American nation, which travels more than any other, still recognizes the fact that faithful and efficient *men* are essential in the prosecution of that art. People desire to deal with a personality, therefore wish to see the *personnel* of the railroad service fostered and perfected."

*Martha J. Lamb*

## THE SLAVE INSURRECTION IN VIRGINIA, 1831

### KNOWN AS "OLD NAT'S WAR"

During the closing days of August, 1619, the first African slaves, twenty in number, were landed at Jamestown by a Dutch man-of-war. From that time to the present the negro has been with us; for two hundred and forty-six years as a slave, and now as a freedman. During all this time, whether slave or free, he has been a thorn in the side of the white man. While a slave his power was used to oppress the non-slaveholding whites. The land was being steadily bought up by the wealthy few; "to get more niggers, to get more land" was the cry, and the South was fast approaching those days of Rome when the Gracchi sought to reform the republic by demanding a re-distribution of the land. The time was perhaps not far distant when some American Gracchus would have been welcomed as a saviour by the Southern people, who were already beginning to feel the baleful influence of the great estates. We were spared this bitter experience by the civil war. That lesson of blood was a dear one, but its value has been more than the cost. The end of slavery was a blessing to the white man; to the negro it has been in many forms a curse. Since obtaining his freedom, the black man, led on by unprincipled rascals, and showing in his every action that simplicity which marks the childhood of a race, has aspired to rule the whites, rich and poor, ignorant and learned alike. But the day of his domination has not yet come, and will not come while there is an Anglo-Saxon in the South to draw a sword or shoulder a musket.

It is a matter of surprise and gratification that under the old régime there were so few insurrections among the slaves. This is to be attributed to their great dread of blood and wounds, to the docility of their natures, to the lack of organization, and to the general good treatment which they received at the hands of their masters. There were a few servants in every family that were treated with the greatest care. They stayed in and around the house; they were the body-servants of their master and mistress; they were devotedly attached to them and would betray any plot that might bring the lives of those nearest and best to them into jeopardy. Even during the civil war, while nearly two hundred thousand negroes enlisted in the federal army, and thereby, on the

admission of Mr. Stanton, "saved the Union," the great majority remained quietly at home and at work. They showed a faithfulness which came from their training, it is true, but which even then seems almost incredible; for the women and children were defenseless and dependent upon them. How much evil could have been done had these slaves been inspired with the demon of Nat Turner, and how much the war might have been shortened by the utter annihilation of the South had they risen to burn and butcher, will never be known.

Few servile plots have gained celebrity. In 1740 a great negro plot was discovered in New York. In 1800 "General" Gabriel Prosser made efforts to organize the negroes around Richmond, so that they might rise and take the city. The plot was well conceived, but failed. In 1822 Denmark Vesey planned to take Charleston and slaughter its inhabitants. This was revealed by a family servant; the leaders were taken and executed.

The most celebrated plot in local history is that of Nat Turner in Southampton county, Virginia, in August, 1831. Nat was born October 2, 1800, and was the property of Benjamin Turner of Southampton, a wealthy and aristocratic man. He was below the ordinary stature and had genuine African features; he was small and somewhat feeble in body, his nose was flat and his hair very thin, but he was of shrewd and enthusiastic mind.\* He conceived at an early age the idea that he was a special object of divine care, and that his mission was to deliver the blacks from their white masters. This fanaticism never left him, and led him, as we shall see, to his own destruction. He was remarkably quick, and at an early age showed signs which induced his superstitious parents to look on him with awe and wonder. He says in his *Confessions* that when three or four years old he was telling the other children something which his mother overheard.† She said it happened before his birth. He stuck to his story, and related some things that in her opinion tended to confirm it. Others heard of this occurrence and said that Nat was destined to be a prophet. This idea he could never eradicate. His mother and father strengthened him in his belief in divine aid, because they thought the marks on his head and breast indicated greatness. His grandmother, his master, and other religious persons noticed the singularity of his man-

\* Howison, *History of Virginia*, II. 438. It has been said that Nat was a Baptist preacher, but this has been denied. Cf. *Baltimore Gazette*, October 6, 1831. It is said that he sung and exhorted, but went no further.

† His sworn testimony as given to Thomas R. Gray, his counsel, on his trial, and attested by six justices of the peace and the clerk of the county court of Southampton.



ner, and said that he would be of no value as a slave. His mind was restless, inquisitive, observant of everything, and directed chiefly to religion. He learned to read and write with great ease; when a book was given him to keep him from crying, he commenced to spell out the words. He did not remember when he learned the alphabet, and his quickness was a source of astonishment to all the negroes. He improved his opportunities. He reflected on all that presented itself, and when he had an opportunity to peruse a book he found there many things which his imagination had depicted to him already. All time not given to his master was spent in prayer, or in making experiments, in casting in molds made of earth, in attempting to make paper, gunpowder, etc.

This quickness and shrewdness gained for him a subtle influence over the negroes, unknown to the whites. He would not steal himself, but his friends took him with them to plan. It is said he never laughed. He was dreamy. He avoided the crowd and wrapped himself in mystery. Thus he worked on the superstitious feelings of his neighbors, until they began to look upon him as a prophet. When he had arrived at man's estate and heard the Bible commented on, he was struck with the words "Seek ye first the kingdom of God." He was praying one day at the plow for light when the spirit spoke to him as of old. He felt that he was ordained of God for some great purpose. He remembered the experiences of his childhood and felt it his duty to fulfill this mission. He began by telling the slaves that something was about to happen which would fulfill the promise made him.

About the first of 1830 Nat was hired to Joseph Travis, who treated him kindly and put great confidence in him. Nat repaid him by running away. He remained thirty days, but returned, "at the command of the spirit." Nat now had a vision: "I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened, the thunder rolled in the heavens, and blood flowed in streams, and I heard a voice saying, 'Such is your luck, such you are called to see, and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bear it.'" He now withdrew himself as much as possible from his fellow-servants "to serve the spirit more fully." The spirit appeared and promised to reveal to him the knowledge of the elements, the revolution of the planets, the operation of the tides and changes of the season. After the revelation of 1825 Nat sought more than ever to obtain true holiness before the day of judgment, and began "to receive the true knowledge of faith." Once the Holy Ghost appeared unto him and he "saw the forms of men in different attitudes, and there were lights in the sky, and they were the lights of the Saviour's hands." He



prayed to be told what these wonders were; soon after while working in the field he discovered drops of blood on the corn, as though it were dew from heaven, he found hieroglyphic characters on the leaves in the woods, and numbers with the forms of men in different attitudes portrayed in blood, and representing the figures he had seen before in the heavens; and from these signs it was plain to him that the day of judgment was at hand.\*

The spirit appeared to him again and said he should be baptized. The whites would not allow it to be done by the Church, so Nat Turner and a poor white man went down into the water amid much reviling and were baptized of the spirit, May 12, 1828. He heard a loud noise in the heavens and the spirit appeared to him and said that the serpent was loosed, that Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that he should take it on and fight against the serpent. And it is worthy of remark that Nat made no use of voodooing, conjuring, "gufering," or fortune-telling for the purpose of gaining control over his neighbors; but, deceiving and being deceived, he professed that all his power and instruction came from heaven. In February, 1831, there was an eclipse. Nat said this was a sign for him to begin his work. Until this sign appeared his lips were sealed, but now they were opened. The work was to have begun on July 4; many plans were discussed, but Nat became so affected in mind that nothing was done. The sign appeared the second time and determined him to wait no longer. This sign was the appearance of the sun on August 13. By reason of some atmospheric trouble his disk on rising seemed to have changed from the usual brilliant golden color to a pale greenish tint, which soon gave place to a cerulean blue, and this also to a silvery white. In the afternoon he appeared like an immense circular plane of polished silver, and by the naked eye a black spot could be seen. He shone with a dull, gloomy light; the atmosphere was moist and hazy.†

Nat believed this trouble was a sure sign of victory, and said to his followers: "As the black spot passed over the sun, so shall the blacks pass over the earth." On Saturday, August 20, Nat and two confederates agreed to prepare a dinner for Sunday where they might discuss and formulate a plan of attack. It seems that five men attended this meeting—Nat, Sam Edwards, Hark Travis, Henry Porter, and Nelson Williams. One brought a pig and another some brandy. They remained here until two hours into the night. They agreed to spare neither age nor sex until arms were procured and their forces increased.

\* *Confessions.*

† *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity.*

The work was to begin at the house of Joseph Travis near Cross Keys. This place is about seventy miles from Richmond, ten miles from Jerusalem, the county seat of Southampton, and near the North Carolina line. On the way they were joined by a negro named Will. It was now between one and two on Monday morning, and their death-bringing march was to be the first note of warning to the slumbering whites. Nat tells with great coolness in his *Confessions* the story of the beginning of the slaughter: "On returning to the house Hark went to the door with an ax, for the purpose of breaking it open, as we knew we were strong enough to murder the family should they be awakened by the noise; but, reflecting that it might create an alarm in the neighborhood we determined to enter the house secretly and murder them whilst sleeping. Hark got a ladder and set it against the chimney, on which I ascended, and hoisting a window entered and came down-stairs, unbarred the doors, and removed the guns from their places. It was then observed that I must spill the first blood, on which, armed with a hatchet and accompanied by Will, I entered my master's chamber. It being dark I could not give a death-blow. The hatchet glanced from his head; he sprang from his bed and called his wife. It was his last word. Will laid him dead with a blow of his ax."

They secured several guns here, cleaned, and loaded them; they saddled the horses and started out. They visited every house on their way to Captain Nevit Harris's. They now amounted to about forty. Harris and his family had escaped. They destroyed the property in the house, robbing him also of money and other valuables. Nat led his forces to Levi Waller's, two or three miles distant. It was ten o'clock Monday. Nat took his station in the rear, and put fifteen or twenty of his best men in front. They approached the house as fast as their horses could run. This was to strike terror and prevent escape. After leaving Whitehead's Nat never reached the scene until the murders had been committed. He sometimes came in sight in time to see the work completed. He viewed in silent satisfaction the mangled bodies as they lay, and started at once in quest of other victims. Near Waller's was a log school-house. The little children were all butchered but one, and she escaped by hiding in a hedge. Another version says she escaped by running up the dirt chimney, and that she saw the tragedy enacted below from behind its wooden frame-work. Their heads were chopped off and the bodies piled up. The blood was caught in the water-bucket. The negroes got in a circle and one of them, perhaps Nat himself, sprinkled them with blood, repeating, "Such is the will of your Father in heaven." As the blood-stained assassins galloped up to the house of Mrs. Vaughan, a widow lady, she was paralyzed with terror and made no

effort to escape. She was killed, and her daughter was shot down when trying to escape. Mrs. William Williams escaped and got some distance from the house, but was overtaken, compelled to get up behind one of the number, and brought back. They showed her the lifeless body of her husband, told her to get down and lie by his side, where she was shot dead. Nat now had five or six men wounded, but none had been left on the field; one horse had been shot; and finding himself defeated here he determined to go through a private way, cross Nottoway river at Cypress bridge, three miles below Jerusalem, and attack that place in the rear. He wanted arms and ammunition.\* When within a few miles of Jerusalem they were met by a small body of white men armed with guns generally loaded with bird-shot. At the first fire this army of liberation turned and fled to the swamps. But they soon re-collected their forces and prepared to make another attack.† Their last effort at plunder and murder was made at Dr. Samuel Blount's. Dr. Blount, his son, and three others were at home. The defense was conducted by D. W. Fitzhugh. The doctor's slaves joined heartily in it. They had six guns heavily loaded. The negroes came within twenty yards, a volley was fired, and one fell dead and another was severely wounded. The others took to flight. For his gallantry on this occasion President Jackson appointed young Simon Blount a midshipman in the navy.

It was now Monday noon and the offensive part of "Old Nat's War" was ended. The whites had recovered from the shock and were rallying; they hunted the negroes through the swamps like beasts of prey; several slaves taken near Cross Keys were beheaded on the spot. Troops began to pour in; Commodore Warrington of the Norfolk navy yard offered a supply of pistols, cutlasses, and ball cartridges for a thousand men. The steamer *Hampton* was chartered; at Fortress Monroe Colonel House embarked in her with three companies of United States troops, and from the sloops *Natchez* and *Warren* she received a corps of marines. The Norfolk Junior Volunteers and the Portsmouth Grays left for the scene on Thursday; the Richmond artillery set out and a troop of horse left Petersburg; one hundred men were sent from Murfreesboro, North Carolina, and some sixty from Winton, North Carolina; three or four hundred were under arms in Hertford county, North Carolina, and the militia of Gates and Northampton counties was called out. On Thursday, besides the large military force, four hundred women who had fled from their homes to escape death were gathered in Jerusalem. All was uproar and confusion. General Epes, the commander of this district, had more men than he could use. He organized a sufficient force for protection and

\* *Confessions.*

† Howison, II. 441.

sent the others to their homes. Order was restored, the danger was passed, the insurrection was ended but not soon forgotten.

This affair was begun with no fire-arms at all. The voice had told Nat to "slay my enemies with their own weapons," and he trusted to Providence. Their powder was scarce at best, but this did not prevent them from making many of their recruits mix it with their brandy, thinking thereby to inflame them more, and the brandy went a long way toward reconciling them to the work.\* The local nature of the uprising is shown by the fact that Nat made hardly a dozen efficient recruits on the trip, although the plan was well known to them before. A negro girl stated during the trial that she had heard the plot discussed for more than eighteen months. Nat himself had said the last Saturday in August would be a black day, but he fell into the fatal error of forgetting that there were five Saturdays in the month. This mistake threw out numbers who were otherwise ready for the butchery. The fact that they were mounted and their irregular manner of fighting perhaps caused them to be overestimated. About ten did the work. They had nearly sixty in all, but some of them had to be guarded like prisoners of war. Such slaves as had not come under the prophet directly were, as a rule, very true, and although he was in the midst of a large slave population his influence was really very small.†

The victims were butchered but not tortured. The actors were perhaps appalled by the very success of their hideous enterprise. The dead were fifty-five in number: Joseph Travis, wife, and three children; Mrs. Elizabeth Turner; Hartwell Prebles; Sarah Newsome; Mrs. Piety Reese and son William; Trajan Doyal; Henry Bryant, wife, child, and mother-in-law; Mrs. Catharine Whitehead, her son Richard, four daughters, and a grandchild; Salthiel Francis; Nathaniel Francis's overseer and two children; John T. Barrow; George Vaughan; Mrs. Levi Waller and ten children; William Williams, his wife, and two boys; Mrs. Caswell Worrell and

\* *Baltimore Gazette*, October 6.

† The census of 1830 gave the population of Southampton and adjoining counties as follows:

	White.	Slave.	Free blacks.
Greenville . . . . .	2,104	4,681	332
Isle of Wight . . . . .	7,023	4,272	1,222
Nansemond . . . . .	5,143	4,943	1,698
Southampton . . . . .	6,573	7,755	1,745
Surrey . . . . .	2,865	3,377	866
Sussex . . . . .	4,118	7,736	866

In 1830 there were in Bertie county, North Carolina, 12,276 people; in Gates, 7,866; in Hertford, 8,541; in Northampton, 13,103; of these at least one-half were blacks.

child ; Mrs. Rebecca Vaughan, her son Arthur, and Ann Elizabeth Vaughan ; Mrs. John K. Williams and child ; Mrs. Jacob Williams and three children ; Edward Drury. Thirteen men, eighteen women, and twenty-four children, the victims of these insurrectionists. Through the twenty miles of their track not a rumor was heard of mercy shown, and a Methodist preacher was among their victims. They never went slower than full speed, and as their horses grew tired others were impressed. The faithful slaves had taken to the woods and the houses seemed tenements of the dead.

After the defeat at Blount's Nat gave up all hope for the present, and on Thursday night, having supplied himself with provisions from Travis's, scratched a hole under a pile of fence-rails in a field. Here he lay for six weeks, never leaving his hiding but for a few moments at dead of night to get water and seek intelligence. He then began to venture out and eaves-drop, but gained little and always returned before day. One night a dog while passing by his covert smelled meat, went into his retreat and stole it. A few nights later some negroes went hunting with this dog and passed by the hiding-place. The dog went into it again and barked at Nat who was just coming out. Nat spoke to the men and begged concealment. They fled from him. He was now constantly pursued and a reward of \$1,100 was put on his head. October 30 Benjamin Phipps came on him so suddenly in a coverture of brushwood that he could escape only at the risk of being shot. He surrendered, laid himself on the ground, and was tied. He was carried to Jerusalem the next day. Judge Parker, the presiding judge of that district, was in town. He saw lynching was in contemplation ; but appealing to their love of law and order quieted the people—something more difficult to do under the same circumstances in our day. Nat at the time of his capture was only a mile and a half from the house of Travis, where his slaughter was begun. He was armed with an old sword only. He said that he had never been more than five miles from the scene and had wanted to give himself up but could not summon the courage. Twenty-one slaves were convicted and condemned, and thirteen executed. But this does not include the large number of poor wretches who lost their lives in the suppression of the revolt, and there is no doubt but that there were many excesses following immediately on the close of this reign of terror. It required denunciations from many of the best men in the state before the spirit of revenge could be pacified.

When Nat Turner was placed on his trial he plead "not guilty," remarking that he did not feel as if he were guilty. He was convicted on his own confession and was executed about one o'clock, Friday, November 11, at Jerusalem. He exhibited the utmost composure ; declined to ad-



dress the vast crowd, and told the sheriff in a firm voice that he was ready. Not a limb nor a muscle was seen to move. His body was given to the surgeons for dissection.\*

No other slave insurrection gave such a shock to the South as did the uprising of Nat Turner. In Southampton county all labor was paralyzed and many plantations were abandoned. The terror of the revolt spread even to Antigua, Martinique, and Caraccas. In North Carolina the terror and fear inspired were not less than at the site of the disturbance. Murfreesboro, in Hertford county, North Carolina, is thirty miles from Cross Keys where the revolt began. Levi Waller, who had barely escaped with his life after hard riding, dashed into the town to tell the fearful story of his loss; his wife and ten children, one at the breast, had been butchered, and he alone was left to tell the story. "It was court week," writes John Wheeler, the father of the historian, to the *Baltimore Gazette*, "and most of our men were twelve miles away at Winton. Fear was seen in every face, women pale and terror-stricken, children crying for protection, men fearful and full of foreboding, but determined to be ready for the worst." The state militia was called out. In the more eastern counties drafts were made for men to go into the Dismal Swamp to hunt the fugitives, and by the end of the week there were enough men under arms in Virginia and North Carolina to have killed every negro in Southampton county in an hour.

While the excitement over the career of Nat Turner was at its highest, negro plots and conspiracies were being constantly brought to light in different sections of the country. Of these plots Nat Turner denied all knowledge, but said that these, like his own, were the work of super-terrestrial agencies. Nowhere were these plots more frequent than in North Carolina. During the first week in September a slave of Thomas K. Morrissey of Sampson county in that state was arrested, and confessed that the slaves had laid a plot to muster what forces they could in Sampson and march on Wilmington, where they expected additions to their numbers. Rumors of this threatened invasion reached Wilmington and caused great excitement. The citizens turned out, companies were formed, all things were put in readiness, and in less than two hours two hundred men were under arms. Troops took possession of the roads leading to the city; couriers were coming and going; captains and colonels were monarchs of all. Expresses came in from South Washington saying that the negroes in large bodies were near the town and were advancing. At the little bridge they were to divide their forces and enter by different streets, burn-

\* *Petersburg Intelligencer*, quoted in *Baltimore Gazette*, November 16.



ing and butchering as they went. The houses were to be fired and the inhabitants were to be killed as they appeared at their doors. The negroes would endeavor to get possession of the arsenal where seven thousand stand of arms had been stored temporarily. The alarm was great; Madame Rumor had done her worst. But time passed on and no negroes appeared.

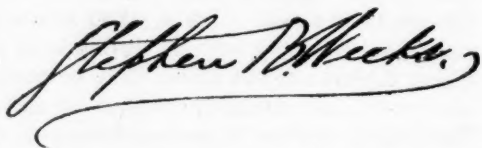
The reports had been greatly exaggerated. Some arrests were made; trial and execution followed. There were rumored risings on the eastern shore of Maryland and on the Delaware line. In Burke and Rutherford counties, North Carolina, rumors were rife that the slaves working in the gold-mines were organizing. Many arrests were made and a plot was discovered. In Richmond county some twenty were imprisoned, and iron spears for carrying on their fiendish purpose are said to have been found.

Raleigh was in alarm. News had reached there that Wilmington was in the hands of the blacks and had been burned. A man from Johnston county ran his horse to death to ask the people of Raleigh for aid. Every free negro in the place was taken up and his means of subsistence were inquired into; if he could give no satisfactory account of himself he was thrown into prison or ordered to leave the town at once. The able-bodied men were organized into four companies to patrol the streets nightly by turns. The old men organized the Silver Grays. The fortress was the Presbyterian church. It was agreed that when the bell of the capitol rang out the women and children should hasten there for protection. They watched and waited in anxiety and fear. The news from Wilmington increased their terror. One night O'Rourke's blacksmith shop took fire; the capitol bell rang forth its shrill peal of alarm. It was heard from one end of the town to the other. The slumbering city was transformed into a terror-stricken multitude; the last day and the inevitable time had come; Nat Turner and his followers were upon them, for this was the signal agreed upon. Negroes were more terrified than their masters; they fled under houses, hid in shrubbery, lay down between corn rows—anything to escape destruction. The women, with hair disheveled and in night-clothes, fled through the streets with ever-increasing speed for their place of refuge. It was a matter of life and death to them, and heart-felt were the thanks for deliverance when the true cause of the alarm was known.

Nat Turner's insurrection caused the state of Virginia to be armed. The legislature passed stringent laws against slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes; forbade their meetings, punished them for words, proscribed their instruction, and arrested their preachers. In North Carolina no slave was allowed to employ his time as a freeman, no negroes were allowed to

preach, to hawk, or to peddle without a license; nor to own nor make use of a deadly weapon. The patrolling system became more exacting; masters became more suspicious and insisted on greater subordination. There was a reaction against the doctrine of emancipation which was then gaining ground, and nothing whatever was secured by the outbreak.

Nat's object was freedom, and indiscriminate slaughter was his watchword. He had been inflamed by religious fanaticism and by white preachers of black equality. Of the character of Nat Turner, the man to whom he made his confession, Thomas R. Gray, says: "It has been said he was ignorant and cowardly, and that his object was to murder and rob for the purpose of obtaining money to make his escape. It is notorious that he was never known to have a dollar in his life, to swear an oath, or to drink a drop of spirits. . . . He can read and write, and for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension, is surpassed by few men I have seen. . . . His reason for not resisting Mr. Phipps shows the decision of his character. . . . He is a complete fanatic, or plays his part most admirably. . . . I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison; the calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions; the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm; still having the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him, clothed with rags and covered with chains, yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Stephen A. Weeks," with a long, sweeping underline.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

## BRITISH MERCHANTS IN 1775

Henry Laurens, afterward the second president of the continental congress, took his family to Europe in 1771 for the purpose of educating his three sons, John, James, and Henry, Jr.

He was in London in 1774, when the troubles between Great Britain and her American colonies were approaching a crisis, and he left rather hastily for South Carolina after signing his name to a petition to Parliament of thirty Americans protesting against the Boston port bill. He became a member and the chairman of the first provincial congress of South Carolina. He did not take his family with him to America, but left them in charge of his brother, James Laurens, an invalid who lived abroad for his health, and of William Manning, a London merchant with whom Mr. Laurens had had business dealings for many years. Mr. Manning was a prominent merchant and acquainted with many powerful people. He was the grandfather of Cardinal John Manning, and two of his daughters were married respectively to Benjamin Vaughan, the political economist, and to a son of Mr. Laurens. Mr. Manning continued to have business relations with Mr. Laurens until prevented by the war. An active correspondence passed between them, and in the original letters of Mr. Manning now in my possession I find many interesting statements which show how the American troubles were regarded by London merchants, and how greatly the merchants sympathized with the colonies.

These letters are in fine preservation, are all in Mr. Manning's hand, and bear Mr. Laurens' indorsement. They were written from London in 1775. I append the dates when written to show their order. There are many business and family matters contained in them which I omit as not pertinent to the subject of this article.

*"January 16th*

Mr. John Laurens is at Bristol and Henry is just returned to Westminster. He spent about three weeks with us and pleased us all. He is a fine boy and much improved. I cannot help congratulating you on the happy prospect you have in your three sons. . . . I have been confined twenty-five days with the gout in both feet. The pain was severe only three days, and as I could do business it was no great punishment except in one point, the preventing my attending the meetings of the North America and West India merchants and planters. The former you

will see by the newspaper have agreed on a petition; the latter are too much divided to come (I fear) to any proper resolution. They meet again on Wednesday the 18th, and as I am much better I hope to be able to attend them, to give my vote for a petition to Parliament to repeal the acts that are so destructive to the colonies and to ourselves.

*February 17th*

Your favors of the 17th December giving me the joyful news of your arrival came safe to hand. Your son communicated to me your narrow escape from being lost, on which we all congratulate you. . . . I was just able to stand when the West India planters and merchants agreed to petition the House of Commons, and though much fatigued and in some pain I attended the reading it and put my name to it. I might have signed and presented an account of sales with the same effect; our ministers are resolved to execute their pernicious plan and may repent when it is too late. The substance of our petition sets forth that we are exceedingly alarmed at the agreement entered into by the congress, etc.; and we pray they will take into their consideration that great political system of the colonies heretofore so very beneficial to the mother country and her dependencies, and adopt such measures as shall prevent the evils with which the planters and merchants are threatened, etc., etc. You will see it in print, therefore I will only add that it has met with the same reception others have undergone and will only serve My Lord or some of his dependants for a certain use at a certain place. I am informed an act will be passed to prevent the New England people from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. The consequence I conclude will be that 15,000 to 20,000 stout hearty fellows will be thrown out of bread, who will join the forces on shore to oppose General Gage and his army. If this measure is adopted I think that congress should send an address of thanks to L——d N——h for his friendship and care of their cause and for such a reinforcement. We all wish you to return very soon, but if you make any stay we hope you will assist your country with your head and purse only, which will be of more use than a thousand hands with as many guns.

*June 3d*

I am sincerely sorry to hear of the skirmish near Boston. I fear it will bring on dreadful consequences.

*July 5th*

Your very acceptable present by Captain Gunn is alive. We all thank you for this and the turtle coming by Captain Curling. We will not fail

to drink your health when they are on table. . . . I am much obliged to you for the political creed—it shall be destroyed and I will be on my guard. May God direct your counsels and preserve you from danger is the hearty wish of all this family. . . . The West India merchants invited Lord North to our annual dinner. One of the several toasts was a speedy and lasting accommodation with America. I looked his lordship full in the face, and by his countenance I think he drank his glass with a hearty good will, and I still continue of opinion that his will and inclination is overruled by the Scotch leaders, and I am ashamed to say that I believe him to be their humble tool.

*August 3d*

Mr. John Laurens has been so kind as to favor me with the perusal of your letters. I am at times sorry on your having engaged in so arduous a task, but when I reflect that your coolness and prudence may check the violent zeal of many of the real and pretended friends of liberty, I am glad that you are in the chair, but it is with real concern that I see, in spite of your care and attention, that your province advances so rapidly in precautions and resolutions that in my eyes are not yet necessary and will load you with debt, the payment of which may create a second dispute should the first be accommodated. But if the provincial congress will take on them to raise and discipline men, stop the course of justice and all trade, you render the grand congress at Philadelphia unnecessary, if not contemptible.

If they are to watch over and preserve the liberties of the continent, they should be the proper judges to direct when and how you should raise troops and force your inhabitants into associations contrary to their judgments and inclinations. Is this liberty? I call it greater oppression than has been attempted by government or ministers. I very much fear that some of your present patriots will as soon as they dare become (tyrants or) protectors, call them which you will, as Oliver Cromwell was, and I fear the southern provinces must submit to the dominion of Boston unless a reconciliation can be brought about with Great Britain. I was in hopes some time ago that that happy event was not only possible but probable, but from the bloodshed on the 17th of June, I fear the mother must submit to separate and give up her child entirely, to the ruin of both nations.

I hinted to you that Lord North was much inclined to an accommodation and I can now confirm it from pretty good authority, and that Lord Dartmouth is ready to adopt every measure that can contribute to it, but that they are opposed by the Bedford party.

These two lords I am informed have given a favorable reception to the propositions from the congress, but what is likely to be the issue I am not



of consequence to learn. God grant that my next letter may contain some favorable intelligence. I wish I could by any means follow your directions and to any good purpose. I would most certainly undertake it with the firmest zeal. You have too high an opinion of my acquaintance and influence. The first extends very little beyond a mercantile circle and the last is only to be compared to a drop of water in the sea. Such as it is, it has been and shall be on all occasions used for the peace and welfare of America. I have as often as I have had an opportunity represented the loyalty and strength of the Americans, and represented that it was impossible to force them to submit to the burthens laid on them, and I know that some of my letters have been communicated to men in power, but I fear they have never had the least weight—on the contrary, I dare say they have been laught at. The military gentlemen say that General Gage with twelve thousand men will drive the Provincials to the d—l.

When they are undeceived and willing to accept of the terms you now propose, I much fear the patriots of Boston will increase their demands to a pitch that will prevent any accommodation whatever, and that those who have arms in their hands will not lay them down by the same authority they took them up. Forty thousand men will cut and carve for themselves.

*October 4th*

I am glad to see the Georgia resolutions more moderate than the other colonies and that they will keep the courts of justice open, and wish they and all the continent would likewise keep the communication open with our islands. I am very sorry to find your public affairs in such confusion. It was what I expected and feared when I heard you were arming. It is very dangerous to put muskets and swords in the power of the vulgar unless they are immediately employed. Idle soldiers without strict controul generally rule their masters. I am glad to find this measure did not meet your approbation. I still think if the gentlemen of the several congresses were blessed with your moderation, prudence, and real love for your country, an accommodation might be firmly concluded this winter."

Here the letters end. Mr. Laurens exercised his prudence and moderation to such an extent that his loyalty has been called into question at times. There can, however, be no doubt that he was a true patriot, though reluctant to sever the bonds which bound the colonies to Great Britain.

*Walter Jones W. Benjamin*

## SOME RARE OLD BOOKS

### EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

There is something connected with books which have come down to us from by-gone centuries that invests them with peculiar interest. There lies before me a massive quarto volume which has escaped all the destructive agencies of two hundred and eighty-one years, and now tells me its wonderful story of national strifes and human achievements in our English language as spoken and written nearly three centuries ago. It is a complete and well-preserved copy of the second edition of a work which was no doubt a costly one at the time it was published, and which is indeed a rare relic at this time. The title of the book is "The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the firste beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. Together with the Lives and Conquests of the Othoman Kings and Emperours unto the yeare 1610. Written by Richard Knolles, sometime fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford. The second edition printed by Adam Islip. 1610."

This title is enclosed in a highly ornamental border of a composite character, with designs representing scenes and events in history. The sides of the border are two Corinthian columns, against one of which stands a knight in full armor, with shield and helmet, and against the other a Turkish warrior, also in full armor and bearing a shield, but wearing a turban instead of a helmet. These columns support various emblematic figures, with a disk bearing upon its margin the motto, *Honi Soit Qui-Mal-y-Pense*. All this is surmounted by a crown. The columns rest upon a base representing a battle scene.

The book is a quarto, substantially bound in leather, and contains thirteen hundred and three pages, not including about thirty more pages, containing what the author calls "A Table or Index, pointing unto the most notable things in the Historie of the Turkes before written." There are numerous elaborately executed portraits of kings, emperors and empresses, all of which have the date 1603 engraven in them, that being the date of the first edition. The orthography, of course, is that of our English of the time of Elizabeth and of James I., three centuries ago—an age which gave to English literature some of its most

brilliant minds, including the immortal Shakespeare himself. The typographical execution, for that period, is undoubtedly excellent, and shows that the printers in Adam Islip's London printing establishment, two hundred and eighty-one years ago, were skilled in the "art preservative of arts." The volume is divided into two principal parts, the first treating of the "Generall Historie of the Turkes," and the second of the "Lives of the Othoman Kings and Emperours." These biographies, the author declares, were all "faithfully gathered out of the best histories, both antient and moderne, and digested into one continuat historie." The pages have marginal notes, with dates covering the period from 755 to 1609, eight hundred and fifty-four years.

After the title-page comes the dedication "To the High and Mightie Prince James, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c." Why James I. of England was styled King of France more than a hundred years after any earnest claim had been made by an English sovereign to the crown of France may be explained by the historian. Our old author's dedication addresses the king in the most obsequious language, closing with a prayer that the "great God of all might and power (by whom all kings and princes reign) to his glory may long preserve your most royall Majestie in blessed health and peace to rule and raign over us and these your great Kingdomes, so happily by you united; and so likewise (his will so being) your most noble posteritie after you, even to the worlds end. Your Majesties most humble and obedient subject. Richard Knolles."

The reader of this and other English printed books of that age will observe the absence of many of the marks and points of our modern punctuation. The apostrophe "s" to designate the possessive of nouns, and the points of interrogation and exclamation are absent. About the only points used are the comma, semicolon, colon and period. Proper names of persons are in italics, and of places in "small caps," with initial capitals. The letter "s," except where it terminates a word, is formed like our present letter "f," except it is not crossed. The "u" and "v" have the same form. Many words are encountered which are now obsolete, and others which have so changed their orthography that many readers would not recognize them with their meaning in modern print. For instance, he might have to look up some authority to learn that the word "espials" meant what we now understand by the word "spies." The evolution of our language is quite as marked in a large number of other words.

When we recall the fact that the art of stereotyping was unknown at the time this book was printed, we may appreciate the expense and labor

of producing a second edition, as compared with the reprinting of books at the present time. Then it was necessary to reset the type, and in this second edition of Knolles's history about seven years additional history is appended, bringing it down to the year 1610. These additional years of Turkish history include incidents in which Captain John Smith, subsequently famous in the Jamestown colony in Virginia, was a prominent actor.

The interest in this book as a relic of the long past is increased when we remember how much of the world's history has been made since it was printed. Its author lived when Queen Elizabeth reigned, and was contemporaneous with Shakespeare, Bacon, Ben Jonson; and when his book was being printed England's great epic poet, Milton, was an infant two years of age. The English colony in Virginia had just been planted, and the little princess, Pocahontas, had not yet met her pale-face wooer, John Rolfe, or saved the life of Captain Smith on the banks of James river. It was ten years later when the *Mayflower* landed on the "bleak New England shore," and one hundred and sixty-six years were to elapse before the birth of the great republic which has given to the world's history the immortal names of Washington, Lincoln and Grant. These and a long list of other heroes, statesmen and benefactors of men in the various spheres of human life and activity have lived, passed away and left their names enrolled in the annals of greatness, while our book has escaped all the accidents and destructive revolutions of two hundred and eighty-one years, and presents for our instruction the identical pages which were read in England by the subjects of James I., and may have been conned over by "Scottish Jammie" himself.

Another rare old volume in my collection contains about four hundred pages, and is in two parts, or rather it is two books in one volume. The title-page of the first part is wanting, but the contents otherwise are complete. It is a medical work, or rather, in the language of the time in which it was written, it relates to the study of "physick." The date of the printing of this book is 1658, and its author was Nicholas Culpeper. The title-page of the second part is intact, and reads as follows: "A Key to Galen's Method of Physick. London. Printed by Peter Cole, Printer and Book-seller, at the sign of the Printing Press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1658." The printer and bookseller Cole takes up the first half dozen pages in advertising certain publications in stock for sale by him. These books were mostly of a religious character. Among them were eleven books of "Thomas Hooker made in New England," as the advertisement reads. The author was a preacher in London who was

silenced for non-conformity, and then set up a grammar school, in which John Eliot, afterward the celebrated "Apostle of the Indians" in America, was usher. Hooker came to America in 1633, and was ordained at Cambridge. Later he settled at Hartford, Connecticut, as the place was afterward known. His sermons were reported and many of them sent back to England and published. Mr. Hooker and Samuel Stone were the first ministers who preached at Hartford. The former died in 1647.

So much for thrifty printer Cole's advertisements, and now we return to our author on "physick," Dr. Culpeper. This appears to be the sixth edition of his work "much enlarged." In a brief prefatory address he says: "Courteous reader, if thou ever intendest to study Physick, and turn neither Fool nor Knave in that famous Science, be well skilled in this Discourse and Directions following; here's enough for thee to whet thy wits upon. Sympathy and Antipathy are the two Hinges upon which the whole Body of Physick turns. Thou hast the Radix of them here. Here is a Foundation for thee to erect the whole Fabrick upon, if thou beest wise; if not, thou art unfit to make a Physitian. I love well, and am as willing to help all ingenious men, though their parts be never so weak; but hate pride in whomsoever I find it." The doctor then proceeds with "An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Human Vertues in the Body of Man." In this he treats of the functions of the brain and various parts of the body, the influence of the planets, the sun, and the stars in the development of both physical and intellectual characters. He says the intellectual, or rather, as he calls it, the "intellective vertue resides in the brain, and is generally governed by Mercury." It is curious to note that the science of phrenology is not so modern as many think it is, for our author says, "Imagination is seated in the forepart of the brain." Again he says, "Judgment is seated in the midst of the brain." Further along in treating of memory he says it is "seated in the hinder cell of the brain, is the great register to the little world, and its office is to record things either done and past, or to be done." So it appears that the theory of Dr. Gall on the structure and functions of the brain were crudely outlined by our English doctor one hundred years before the Vienna doctor was born. Dr. Culpeper appears, however, not to have been in full accord with the regular school of his day, for he frequently criticises the methods of what was known as "The College," and their old and new dispensatory. The discovery of the fact that doctors disagree is not modern.

Some idea of the style of this unique old author may be gained from the reading of an extract wherein he extols the virtues of the tobacco plant. After giving the formula for its preparation, he says: "I would



ask a whol summer's day to write the Particular Vertues of this Oyntment, and my poor Genius is too weak to give it the hundredth part of its due praise." He then, in the style of the patent medicine proprietors of the present day, enumerates a long list of ailments for which it is a panacea, and concludes by saying: "Finally, there may be as universal a Medicine made for al Diseases, of Tobacco, as of any in the world, the *Phylosophers Stone* excepted. O Foubertus! thou shalt never want praise for inventing this Medicine, by those that use it, so long as the sun and moon endureth." In another place for "hypochondriack melancholly" Virginia tobacco leaf is prescribed as an "incomparable Remedy." In still another place he says: "Oyl of Tobacco is a gallant remedy for deep wounds, scabs, or itch as any under the Cope of Heaven, and is in no way prejudicial."

Our author has a peculiar way of mixing his religion with his "physick." In treating of "pouders" compounded from herbs, he makes a fling at the "College," or regular profession, as follows: "I see now the College is not too old to learn how to dry Herbs, for before they appointed them to be dried in the shadow. I would they would learn humility and honesty, and mind the common good, and consider what infinite number of poor creatures perish daily (whom Christ hath both purchased to himself, and bought with the price of his blood) through their hiding the rules Physick from them, who else happily might be preserved if they knew but what the herbs in their own Gardens were good for. With what face will they answer for this another day before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Angels? A few thoughts of this might put them upon such principles as might be a lengthning of their Tranquility; but why do I spend time about them, seeing there is little hopes they will be honest?"


Scattered through the book are many proverbs and trite sayings, some of which have come down to the present day. I quote the following: "Hit the nail on the head." "Mother wit will teach you." "As rare as black swans." "Cannot catch old birds with chaff." "Leave never a stone unturned." "This is the plain English of it." "I smell a rat." "Provide against a wet day." "Teach a smith how to make nails." "Got the wrong sow by the ear." "No carrion will kill a crow." "The pitcher never goes so often to the well but it comes broken home at last." "Pin not your faith upon another man's sleeve." "A word is enough to the wise." "Know by a penny how a shilling is coined." These proverbs all occur in this old volume, proving that some of our current sayings are not so modern as we may have supposed. In quoting them I have modernized the orthography.

This book is printed with double-column pages, and several new char-

acters or points in punctuation appear, including those of interrogation and exclamation. In typographical execution it is rather crude, and does not show that printer Cole's establishment was well equipped with the material for book-making. It is an interesting little volume, both as to its style and contents.

A copy of the celebrated "Letters of Junius" in my possession is an interesting relic, from the fact that it is one of the first American edition of those letters, and was printed in 1791—just one hundred years ago. It is complete, and contains two hundred and eighty-three pages, besides a copious index. The title-page shows that it was printed and sold in Philadelphia by Prichard & Hall, in Market street, between Front and Second streets. It is well printed in the style of books of that time, and contains all the letters signed "Junius" and "Philo-Junius," with the letters also of Sir William Draper and Rev. John Horne to Junius, together with the unknown author's dedication to the English nation. These letters are so well known to all readers versed in our standard English literature that any comment upon the contents of this book would of course be superfluous. The special interest in the volume arises from the fact that it is a copy of the first American print of those famous letters, and the further fact that it is a specimen of American book-making of one hundred years ago.

*A. R. Tuttor.*



DES MOINES, IOWA.

## DISTINGUISHED GERMANS IN AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The struggles for German unity and their effect on the United States is a subject which must be of great interest to every thoughtful American citizen. The Vienna Congress, composed as it was of the representatives of the different powers which had accomplished the downfall of Napoleon I., convened pursuant to the last article of the Paris treaty of the previous year, in October, 1814, in order to adjust the map of Europe. The colossal nature of the work, to brush away the political creations of the French conqueror as well as to reconcile the seriously conflicting interests of the different dynasties, became apparent very soon after the august body had begun its deliberations. This was particularly so with reference to Germany, where the uncompromising dualism between Austria and Prussia created difficulties which at several stages of the congress threatened an outburst of open hostilities between the different sections of the country. The return of Napoleon from Elba, however, in March, 1815, brought the quarrels to a speedy end, the boundaries of over thirty little German states were drawn, a loose union was patched up between them, and the congress adjourned.

The German people soon discovered that in the adjustment of these matters the dynastic interests alone had been respected, while their own rights were shamefully ignored. In driving the French usurper from their soil the people had made unparalleled sacrifices of blood and treasure. The political distraction of their country, which for nearly two hundred years had made them the prey of foreign conquerors, had been accomplished as a result of their stanch adherence and manly defense of the principles of religious liberty. In France, England, Spain, Portugal, and the Scandinavian countries that creed alone was tolerated which the royal will prescribed, and thus political unity became intact. Germany, however, had emerged from the Thirty Years' War devastated and impoverished beyond description, cut up into a large number of petty dynasties, but proud of having conquered for the world that freedom of conscience which was the forerunner throughout the civilized world of all subsequent movements for the betterment of mankind. Yet the relinquishment of political greatness had brought her untold miseries, and when she regained her independence through her victories over Napoleon she had a right to expect that the blood of her sons had not been spilled in vain, and

that a strong and united fatherland would for all time to come protect her against invasions from without. The outcome of the congress, therefore, fell like a wet blanket upon the whole people, their fondest hopes were blighted, and deep-rooted discontent took possession of the masses. The humiliating condition of the country was felt most keenly by the flower of the German youth—the students of the universities; their patriotic indignation burst forth in plaintive songs and speeches; and unions (*burschenschaften*) were formed for the purpose of cultivating love of country and to aim at building up a united Germany. Nor were their objects in the least concealed, for not a few avowed themselves for open revolution to attain them. Under the inspiration of Prime Minister Metternich, of Austria, whose vainglorious nature was fully equal to his inability to comprehend the honest aspirations of a noble people, the rulers of Germany, fearing for their safety, endeavored to suppress the unions, and caused arrests to be made and prosecutions to be instituted. In order to escape these some of the best sons of the country left for foreign lands; thus what was Germany's loss was the latter's gain. Among those who in this period and as a result of these prosecutions were cast upon our shores were Professor Francis Lieber, Carl Beck, and Charles Follen.

Follen had been prominently identified with the unions, and in 1819 was suspected of being an accomplice in the murder of Kotzebue, a German author, whose relations to the Russian court had subjected him to the suspicion of being a Russian spy and an enemy of German unity. Follen was at that time a private lecturer at the University of Jena, and although but twenty-three years of age had already won high distinction as a counselor for several towns in his native grand-duchy of Hesse Darmstadt, whose government sought to enforce against them an obnoxious war debt. Though nothing could be shown against him in connection with Kotzebue's taking off, his liberal teachings, nevertheless, subjected him to serious annoyances, which prompted him to leave his native country for Switzerland, from where, in January, 1825, he emigrated to the United States. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed teacher of German at Harvard college. Three years later he was made professor of ecclesiastical history and ethics, and soon after he received the professorship of German literature at Harvard, which he held five years. He then became pastor of a Unitarian society in New York and in East Lexington, Massachusetts. In January, 1840, he was a passenger on the ill-fated steamer *Lexington*, which was burned during its passage in Long Island sound, and lost his life, together with about one hundred and seventy-five other passengers. Follen was the author of a German grammar and reader. He was a frequent contributor

to the reviews, and lectured on various scientific subjects. His writings, and a sketch of an unfinished work on psychology, were published at Boston in 1841, in five volumes. He was, like most of his countrymen, a staunch advocate of the anti-slavery movement, and his great literary ability and unspotted career did much to secure for the German character an honorable recognition in this country.

At the request of the anti-slavery society he wrote an address to the American people, in which he set forth in clear and forcible language the principles of his party. This pamphlet was distributed in congress as well as at the different state capitals, and everywhere made a deep impression. On account thereof he suffered many serious attacks, it being particularly urged against him that he, a foreigner, was abusing the hospitality of this country by assailing her institutions and throwing a firebrand into our body politic. His manly and dignified reply was, that in this country, where liberty was the boast of the people, and where the Declaration of Independence proclaimed and vouchsafed equal rights for all, he would not abnegate those sacred truths which he had defended in his fatherland and for which he had sacrificed home, beloved parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. He was an intimate friend of Channing, Theodore Parker, Emerson, Ticknor, Bancroft, Longfellow and other great men of his time.

Dr. Carl Beck, a friend of Follen, having likewise been prominently identified with the unions, became a fugitive from Germany and settled in the United States in 1824. He had studied philology at Berlin and Tübingen, and at the latter school had received the degree of doctor of philosophy. Upon his arrival in this country he became a teacher at a school in Northampton, Massachusetts. Subsequently he established a school of his own at Phillipstown, on the Hudson, and in 1832 he was made professor of the Latin language and literature at Cambridge. He published several works on philology, distinguished himself during the war of the rebellion as a member of the Sanitary Commission, wrote and worked zealously for the education of the freedmen, and was regarded as one of the most public-spirited citizens in Massachusetts. He died at Cambridge in March, 1886, lamented and honored far beyond the limits of his adopted state.

Professor Francis Lieber hardly needs an introduction to the American reader. He was born in Berlin in March, 1800, and his childhood was spent at the time of the deepest humiliation of Germany. In March, 1815, when Napoleon had broken loose again in Europe, Lieber, though a mere boy, with two older brothers, enlisted as a volunteer, fought at Ligny as well as at the battle of Waterloo, and was dangerously wounded a few



days later in the storming of Namur. Upon his recovery, the war being ended, he resumed his studies, first in his native city and then at Jena, where he graduated; but his enthusiastic devotion to a free and united Germany had brought him in conflict with the authorities, and he journeyed to Greece in order to take part in the struggle for Greek independence against the Ottoman empire. Somewhat later we find him in Rome, where he was hospitably admitted into the family of the great German historian, Niebuhr, who was, at that time, the Prussian ambassador at the Vatican, and who appointed him private teacher to his eldest son. After a year's sojourn there he returned with letters of recommendation from Niebuhr to Berlin, but being again suspected of unlawful confederations against the existing order of things he was arrested and confined in the fortification of Koepnik, where he wrote a number of lyrical poems of no mean order. From this prison he was released through the influence of his friend and patron Niebuhr, whereupon he went to London. Here he remained until 1827, supporting himself by teaching languages and writing for German periodicals. In 1827 he came to the United States and settled in Boston. His great learning and high nobility of character soon secured him lasting friendship among the foremost men of the country, such as Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard university, William Ellery Channing, Professor Felton, Judge Story, the historians Prescott and Bancroft, George Ticknor, the poet Longfellow, and Charles Sumner. He commenced his career first as a lecturer on history and politics in the larger cities, maintaining at the same time a swimming-school in Boston; and next he undertook the editorship of the *Encyclopædia Americana*, based upon Brockhaus's *Conversations Lexicon*. Translations of a French work on the Revolution of July, 1830, and of Fetterbach's *Life of Kaspar Hauser*, came from his pen during the same period. In 1832 he translated the works of De Beaumont and De Tocqueville on the penitentiary system of the United States, adding an introduction and notes; and somewhat later he wrote, at the request of the trustees of Girard college, a plan of education and instruction for that institution. In 1834 appeared his *Letters to a Gentleman in Germany*, a book highly entertaining as well as instructive, and in 1835 his *Reminiscences of Niebuhr*. In the same year he took charge of the professorship of history and political economy in the South Carolina college at Columbia, where he remained until 1838, when he accepted a call to the same professorship at Columbia college, New York. During this period he published numerous important works, chief among which are. *A Manual of Political Ethics*, two volumes, adopted by Harvard college and many other high schools in

this country as a text-book, and highly recommended by Judges Kent and Story; *Legal and Political Hermeneutics*; or, *Principles of Interpretation and Construction in Law and Politics*; *Laws of Property*, *Essays on Property and Labor*, and *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*. He also wrote *Essays on Subjects of Penal Law and the Penitentiary System*, on the *Abuse of the Pardoning Power*, and many occasional papers, such as *Letters on Anglican and Gallican Liberty*; a paper on the vocal sounds of Laura Bridgman, the blind deaf-mute, compared with the elements of phonetic language; besides numerous addresses and political articles, among which his inaugural address at Columbia college on *Individualism*, or *Socialism and Communism*, stands out prominent.

During the war of the rebellion Professor Lieber spent much of his time in Washington, whither he had been called by the government as counselor in important questions relating to international and military law, and at the request of General Halleck he drafted the *Instructions for the Government of Armies in the Field*, which was published by order of the War Department as "general order No. 100," and circulated among the staff officers of the armies. The great Frenchman Laboulaye calls these instructions a masterpiece, while Bluntschli, the foremost authority on international law in Europe, has published them with flattering comments as an appendix to his international code. As president of the society for loyal publications Lieber wrote during the war many patriotic pamphlets which did much to arouse the enthusiasm of the people, and of which we will name the following: *No Party now, All for our Country*; *Lincoln or McClellan*; *Slavery*; *Plantations or Yeomanry*.

Among those who have spoken with profound admiration of Professor Lieber's works and his noble character are Chancellor Kent and Judge Story, Charles Sumner, William H. Prescott, Professor Greenleaf, and George Bancroft in the United States, Henry Hallam and Professor Creasy in England, Mittermaier, Von Mohl, and Bluntschli in Germany, Laboulaye and De Tocqueville in France, Rolin and Jaquemyns in Belgium, and Pierantoni and Gavelli in Italy.

Charles Sumner extolled Lieber beyond all measure, and in one of his letters writes: "I owe Lieber an enormous and lasting debt of gratitude." Judge Story says: "Lieber's conversation is always fresh, original, and sparkling with reminiscences;" and, again, "he always makes me think."

William H. Prescott writes to him: "Your book (*Political Ethics*) is so full of hints that the reader is but half done when he has read it, for it leads him to a train of thought which he must pursue after perusal." Chancellor Kent said: "Lieber's eminence as a scholar in history, political

economy, ethical philosophy, geography, and the sciences would establish the reputation of any university in the country. His talents, his learning, his great moral worth are recognized by the foremost scholars and jurists." Professor Greenleaf, in speaking generally about his works, observed: "He always plunges into the deepest water and comes out a good swimmer." Judge Thayer, in his excellent memorial oration, said: "Lieber hated a demagogue even more than he hated a tyrant."

Lieber's patriotic attachment to his adopted country became particularly observable when, in 1849, during a brief visit to his native country, he rejected the most tempting offer made to him in person by Frederick William IV., then king of Prussia. Nevertheless his heart beat with enthusiasm for his old fatherland during her war with France in 1870 and 1871. The blood of the young volunteer soldier of 1815 rushed through his veins, and unspeakable was his joy when at last he found the dream of his youth realized, and the aspirations of his heart, for which he had suffered persecution, had become an accomplished fact in the unification of Germany. Thus he writes, on the 18th day of August, 1870: "My letters from Germany show that all Germans, inspired by the noblest sentiments, are ready to sacrifice all, treasure and life, in defense of their fatherland. Even fathers of families will not be turned away. Officers of high rank enter as volunteers and serve as privates. And here I sit and write like an old Philistine. It is too hard." He died suddenly in 1872, while engaged in the preparation of a great work concerning the origin of the constitution of the United States. His influence on American literature is inestimable; our country owes him a lasting debt of gratitude, and to him may be appropriately applied the words of Goethe:

"Wer den Besten seiner Zeit genug gethan,  
Der hat gelebt für alle Zeiten."

Returning to Germany we find that, notwithstanding the most stringent measures adopted by the several German governments in the attempt to suppress liberal thought and the efforts made in behalf of German unity, the fire continued to smolder beneath the ashes, and threatened at times to burst out in consuming flames. The so-called German confederation, with its diet at Frankfort, consisted of thirty-eight independent sovereignties; the internal management of these was in the main foreign to its functions; nevertheless, the governments had, in 1819, by the so-called Carlsbad resolutions, delegated to it certain powers for the "prosecution of demagogues" and the rigid control, throughout the confederation, of all universities, they being the seats of the turbulent elements. For this,

among other reasons, the diet was looked upon with undisguised scorn by the more intelligent of the German people, and when, in July, 1830, the revolution broke out in Paris which hurled Charles X. from his throne, an impetus was given to the students, principally of western Germany, to shake off the yoke under which they were smarting. Accordingly, combinations were formed for the purpose of breaking up the diet. On April 3, 1833, a number of students made an attack on the confederate guards at Frankfort, expelled them, and took possession of the guardhouse. They were thrown back, however, by subsequent re-enforcements, and after a spirited street fight a number of them were captured, while the others fled. Among those who were implicated in this sally was Gustavus A. Koerner, now of Belleville, Illinois, then a young student in Jena, whose honest and outspoken devotion to the cause of a united Germany had already subjected him to serious annoyances while a student at Munich in 1830.

Gustavus A. Koerner was born at Frankfort in 1809 and studied at Jena and Munich. In May, 1832, he graduated at Heidelberg as doctor jurist, and in July, 1833, he came to the United States. Here he settled in Belleville, Illinois, and in June, 1835, was admitted to the bar of that state. Illinois was then a frontier state, legal talent was rare, and, richly endowed as young Koerner was by the best universities on the continent, he could not fail to find speedy recognition. In 1842 he was elected to the legislature, and in 1845 became associate judge of the supreme court of the state, which position he held several years. His decisions, found in the Illinois supreme court reports, are admitted by the best jurists in the land to be models of clearness and legal acumen. In 1852 Mr. Koerner was elected lieutenant-governor of the state on the democratic ticket, but a few years later the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the outrages of the border ruffians in Missouri and Kansas prompted him to take his position in the front rank of the movement for the organization of the republican party, where, in conjunction with his friends, George Schneider, Caspar Butz, George Hillgaertner, and others, he wielded a powerful influence among the German-speaking population of the northwest in the cause of free labor. At the outbreak of the rebellion he served as a staff officer, with the rank of colonel, under Fremont and Halleck in the department of the Missouri, and about a year later President Lincoln, being personally acquainted with Mr. Koerner's rare attainments and great moral worth, appointed him United States minister to Spain.

In 1868 he served as elector at large from Illinois on the Grant ticket, and at the organization of the railroad and warehouse commission in Illinois in 1871, Governor Palmer appointed him one of the commissioners,

in which capacity he served the interests of the public faithfully and with great skill for several years. Governor Koerner is an author of high ability. More than fifty years ago he wrote, for a periodical in Heidelberg called *Das Ausland*, a series of essays on America, in which he did much to instruct the German readers about this country. On the other hand, he has published many papers in the English language, intending to familiarize the American reader with the German character and to render the two elements more harmonious. About ten years ago there appeared from his pen a history of the German element in the United States, from 1818 to 1848, a respectable volume of great merit, written in the German language. He lives in Belleville, Illinois, and, after a long life of honest and useful endeavor, now enjoys in full measure

"An honored old age, serene and bright,  
And lovely as a summer night."

A man who, in this connection, deserves prominent recognition is Friedrich Muench. Endowed with a gentle and peaceful disposition, he took no open part in the revolutionary movement, but he was a warm friend of Carl Follen, became dissatisfied with the existing order of things in Germany, and left for the United States about the time Governor Koerner came here. He had acquired his collegiate education at the university of Giessen, and was already thirty-four years of age when he emigrated. He at once struck out for the Far West and settled near Herman, Missouri, not as a fortune-seeking adventurer, but to find a permanent home. He established a model farm, introduced from European fields and gardens many rare and precious plants, and with his well-ordered mind and high education exercised on the confines of civilization a refining and humanizing influence over a wide territory. He wrote a number of works in the German language, some of which, on religion and Christianity, etc., were translated into English, and published in Boston more than forty years ago. His book on the state of Missouri, in which he gave a minute and entertaining description of the advantages which his adopted state offered to the European emigrant, was published and circulated widely in Germany about the same time, and did more than anything else to attract the Germans to that region. Of what inestimable value this was to the cause of the union is best shown by the fact that at the outbreak of the war the Germans in Missouri were about the only union-loving people there; in St. Louis, where almost the entire native population were secession sympathizers, were instantly organized four German volunteer regiments, which marched to Camp Jackson, about ten miles distant, captured the



Confederate troops (about ten thousand strong) there under the protection of the governor of the state, and brought them into town as prisoners. This was the end of secession in St. Louis.

General Grant, in speaking of these facts, said that it was one of the best things done in the whole war, for had not St. Louis been rescued by German troops, the contest would have been not over Vicksburg but over St. Louis, and the perils of the situation would have been serious.\*

Muench also wrote the life of Carl Follen, a work on American grape culture, and many pamphlets on the topics of the day. His literary pseudonym was "Far West." At all times he maintained fearlessly that to own property in human beings was a crime. With a manly and intrepid heart he remained faithful to these views, though his lot was cast in a slave state, and notwithstanding the fact that his life and property and the safety of his family were often in jeopardy during the civil war, as well as at the time the border ruffians held sway in western Missouri. During the Fremont campaign of 1856, as well as in 1860, he was a prominent German speaker throughout the northern states for the republican cause, while from 1862 to 1866 he held a seat in the legislature of his state. He was a man of firm convictions, upright and sincere. He died in 1876.

The period in German history which more than any other has flooded this country with uncounted numbers of highly educated men in all walks of life was the revolution of 1848. This epoch was the immediate forerunner of the wars that solidified Germany under the *régime* of Prussia. The events of that memorable year served as a powerful reminder to the dynasties of Germany that the long yearned for union had to be brought about, and therefore acted as a powerful impetus to Prussia, the leading German power, to hasten the unification. The men who participated in the movement of 1848 from pure motives of patriotism have woven around their brows wreaths of imperishable laurels. True, as in all similar movements, there were also engaged in this men who prosecuted selfish ends, but they were merely the dark spots on the sun whose effulgence remains undimmed. Following I will endeavor to briefly sketch the lives of a few of those who have been known as revolutionaries in Germany, who came to this country and achieved prominence here in various ways.

First and foremost among them stands Carl Schurz, who was born March 2, 1829, near Cologne. He was studying philosophy and history at Bonn when the revolution broke out, and from there hastened at once to the scene of action at Baden, where the fight was hottest. When the revolt was suppressed and he became a fugitive, he planned and accom-

\**Around the World with General Grant*, Vol. II., pp. 465-468.

plished at the risk of his own life the escape of Professor Gottfried Kinkel, who was confined at the fortification of Spandau for high treason, as an accomplice in the revolution. Kinkel was Schurz's preceptor at college, and by his daring feat, characterized as it was by the most loyal devotion to a friend, Schurz exhibited in an eminent degree the noblest qualities of manhood. He escaped with Kinkel to London, where he supported himself by giving lessons in languages and music. In 1853 he came to the United States, and his career in this country is well known to the public. In 1856 he, like all other prominent Germans in America, took a leading part in the Fremont campaign. In 1860 he was an influential member of the national convention at Chicago which nominated Abraham Lincoln, and the speeches he delivered during the campaign throughout the country, both in English and German, are ranked without stint as among the most eloquent and effective of that memorable epoch. President Lincoln, shortly after his inauguration, appreciating Schurz's great worth, appointed him United States minister to Spain, where he remained until January, 1862, when he returned in order to take part in the war for the union. He rose quickly to the rank of major-general, and served to the end of the war with distinction. In 1865 he was appointed by President Andrew Johnson commissioner to report on the condition of the South, while in 1868 the legislature of Missouri elected him United States senator. In 1872 he stood at the head of the liberal movement which resulted in the nomination of Horace Greeley for president. Four years later he was one of the most prominent advocates of the election of Rutherford B. Hayes, and during the ensuing administration he held the the portfolio of Secretary of the Interior. Schurz was always a stanch advocate of civil-service reform, and this served a number of years ago to estrange him from the ruling party; but in whatever path he walked during the presidential campaigns of the last twenty-four years, he has never followed aught but his innermost convictions. For the high eminence on which he now stands he is indebted alone to his transcendent abilities, and not to the arts and wiles of the demagogue. His oratory is of the highest order; he combines philosophical thought and keen logic with an inexhaustible wealth of knowledge, elegance of diction, poetic beauty, and a manly fervor. He also ranks high as an author; his *Life of Henry Clay* is a noble work, and we are assured that others equally meritorious, on American historical topics, may be looked for from his pen.

A man of high literary attainments, whose reputation as an author both here and in Europe is firmly founded, is Frederick Kapp. He was born in 1824, studied jurisprudence between the years 1842 and 1845, at Heidel-

berg and Berlin, and came to America as a revolutionary exile in 1850. He was soon admitted to the bar of New York, and practiced law in New York city until 1870, when he returned to his native country. In 1868 he was appointed by the governor of New York emigration commissioner. During the anti-slavery agitation preceding the war he wrote a history of slavery in the United States, which did much to enlighten the German-speaking population of the United States about the moral wrong of slavery, as well as the economic disadvantages resulting from that peculiar institution. Among his other works which are widely circulated and read with interest by the Germans of both hemispheres are: *History of German Immigration in New York*, *Life of Baron von Steuben*, *Life of General de Kalb*, *Frederick the Great and the United States*, and others. After his return to Germany in 1870, all political exiles having been previously amnestied, he quickly rose to recognition, was elected a member of the German parliament, and turned the experience which he had acquired during his residence in the United States, concerning the political institutions of a free country, to good advantage. For a number of years he was correspondent for the New York *Nation* and other American periodicals. He died at Berlin in 1884.

Among those of the political exiles who in 1848 settled in the West were the two brothers, Franz Andreas Heinrich Schneider and George Schneider. The former, who was educated in the law, secured for himself an enviable reputation as a juridical writer by his work entitled *The Communion of Property among Married People under the Law of France*. The work was translated into the French language, and very favorably commented upon by eminent jurists both in France and Germany.

The brothers at first settled in St. Louis, where they published a German daily entitled *Die Neue Zeit*, and where the elder remained, while the younger, George, started out for Chicago in 1851. Franz soon after changed the journalistic career for the bar. As a public-spirited citizen, he became a leader, and at the outbreak of the civil war exercised great influence in the organization of German troops for the maintenance of the union. For many years he held the position of chief clerk of the consolidated courts at St. Louis. He died in 1867. George Schneider, who, in the revolution of 1848, at the age of twenty-five years, was a commissioner of the provisional republican government of the Palatinate, and upon whom the death penalty had been pronounced, which the legislature of Bavaria removed in 1866, became in 1851 part owner and editor of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, now a German daily of wide circulation and powerful influence in Chicago. This was about the time of the stormy session

of congress which culminated in the adoption of the fugitive slave law, that found in Schneider, on the platform as well as in the columns of his paper, a manly opponent. When, a few years later, the Kansas and Nebraska bill was introduced, Schneider was among the first who, in the interest of free labor, by their strenuous opposition, aroused the indignation of the western people against the perils of opening our territories North and South to the admission of slavery. Little prepared as the western people were to appreciate the free-soil movement, and sympathizing, as they did to a large extent, with the southern cause, a mob gathered in 1855 in front of Schneider's office and threatened to demolish the building, which would have been done had the mob not encountered the well-armed employees behind barricaded doors and windows. Like Schurz, Kapp, and others, George Schneider stood at the cradle of the republican party; he was a member of the national republican convention, in 1856, which nominated Fremont for president, and of the convention of 1860 which nominated Abraham Lincoln. In the spring of 1861 he was appointed, by President Lincoln, United States consul general at Elsinore, where he was particularly charged with the duty of aiding our representatives in enlightening the governments and people of northern Europe as to the objects of our government in its attempt to suppress the rebellion, and to pave the way for the sale of our government securities in Europe. The task accomplished, Schneider returned home, and in 1862 was appointed by President Lincoln collector of internal revenue. In the same year he sold his interest in the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, which under his administration had been a powerful mainstay to the republican party. During the war he was a member of the union defense committee for the state of Illinois. When Schneider's term of office as collector closed, he devoted himself to the banking business, in which he achieved a brilliant success. He stands to-day as president at the head of the National Bank of Illinois, one of the wealthiest banking institutions in the country, and has for several years past occupied the honorable position of president of the Bankers' club at Chicago. In 1877 he was offered by President Hayes the appointment of United States minister to Switzerland, which he declined. In 1880 he was an elector at large on the Garfield ticket. He owes his great success as a politician and financier to the combined qualities of sound discretion and strict integrity. To him honesty is not only the best policy, but a self-evident, cheerful duty with the fulfillment of which no temptation, however glittering, could ever interfere.

Another man who was one of the exiles of the German revolution of 1848 and left a lasting impression on his countrymen in his efforts in favor

of free labor, was Caspar Butz. He came to this country in 1851, at the age of twenty-five years, lived at first in Boston, then in Detroit, and afterwards in Chicago. His services during the Fremont and Lincoln campaigns as a political writer and speaker cannot be easily overestimated. He was likewise a poet of no mean order, some of his poems having secured an abiding place in German literature. In 1858 he was elected to a seat in the legislature of Illinois, and a year later chosen clerk of the superior court at Chicago. In 1871 he became one of the penitentiary commissioners of Illinois. He died in the year 1884, highly esteemed.

A unique and highly gifted man who came to this country as a result of his revolutionary writings is Hermann Raster, the editor-in-chief of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung* at Chicago. From the moment he began to wield his pen as an editor of the *Buffalo Demokrat* in 1851, his heart and intellect were enlisted in the cause of the free-labor party. In 1852 he became editor of the *New Yorker Abend Zeitung*, which, under his leadership, became one of the most efficient republican organs in the East. He came to Chicago in 1867, and was made editor-in-chief of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, which by his ability has been lifted to an unprecedented prominence among the German dailies in the country. In 1868, as well as in 1873, Raster was a member of the national republican conventions, and in the former it is largely due to his indefatigable efforts as a member of the committee on platforms that the greenback craze, which at that time threatened to swamp the country, was frowned down, and a hard-money plank was adopted. Raster has the reputation of being a man of exceedingly blunt manners, but upright and honorable to a fault. Many years ago he was a regular contributor to *Appleton's Cyclopædia*, and during the war he was the American correspondent for the *National Zeitung* at Berlin, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Augsburg, the *Weser Zeitung* in Bremen, and the *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna. In all his letters he showed a warm devotion to the union, and did much to cultivate that confidence in Germany, by which such a ready market for our government bonds in the German money centres was secured. His style is alike vigorous and lucid, rich with striking similitudes and popular illustrations, and his literary standing is as well founded abroad as at home.

One of the most prolific and best-known writers in this country is Professor Alexander J. Schem, who came to America in 1851, at the age of twenty-five years, having completed his studies at Bonn and Tübingen. He first became professor of ancient and modern languages at the collegiate institute in Mount Holly, and afterwards at Dickinson college, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In 1857 he published, in connection with Professor



Crooks, a Latin-English school dictionary, while two years later he became a regular contributor to the *New American Cyclopædia*, and subsequently to the *Annual American Cyclopædia*, for which, in addition to a great many other articles, he prepared the history of almost all foreign countries, his contributions to the work comprising several volumes. He also wrote a large number of articles for the *Cyclopædia of Theological, Biblical, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. Since 1860 he has lived in New York, engaged wholly in literary pursuits, both in German and English. About the same year there appeared from his pen the *American Ecclesiastical Year Book*, which has had two continuations in the *American Ecclesiastical and Educational Almanac*. From 1860 to 1869 he was one of the editors of the *New York Tribune*, having under his management the entire foreign department, as well as the editorship of the *Tribune Almanac*. He has also prepared for the *National Almanac* and the *American Year Book* and *National Register* all articles relating to foreign countries. In 1869 he took charge of the preparation and publication of the *German-American Conversations Lexicon*, a handsome work of eleven volumes, which appeared in 1872. In conjunction with President Barnard of Columbia college, New York, he took charge of the publication of Johnson's *Universal Illustrated Cyclopædia*. A universal table based upon Huebner's *Statistische Tabelle*, together with a number of other works of great merit, have since been published by him. He is still living in New York.

The exodus of learned young men from Germany on account of the revolution of 1848 operated as a rich fertilizer, particularly on the field of German journalism in America. A large number of highly gifted young men could be named who devoted their minds and hearts to the literature of the day, and hardly a single case can be pointed out in which any of them lent his pen to advocate the interests of slavery. They were to a man staunch supporters of free labor, and the influence which they wielded on behalf of the republican party, speaking, as they did, through their organs to millions of their countrymen in their native language, instructing them in the history of their adopted country, and enlightening them as to the duty they owe to it as citizens, has been of incalculable benefit to the country at large. Before the arrival of these exiles the German press of America was but an insignificant factor in our politics; these were the men who raised it to a power in the land, and while it has been divided on the general issues of the day since the war and the reconstruction of the union, it was before and during the war almost unanimous in its opposition to those elements which threatened to perpetuate slavery and to destroy the union. Many of these men have long since passed

away, but in gratitude to their memories it is due that brief mention be made here of Bernhard Domschke, editor of the *Milwaukee Herald*, and an officer in the union army during the war of the rebellion; Christian Esselen, editor of the *Atlantis*; Otto Reventlow, the mnemonician, and Emil Rothaker, both of Cincinnati; Dr. Adolph Wiesner, publisher of *Der Geist der Zeit*; Carl Heinzen, the radical of the *Boston Pionier*; Frederick Hassaurek, the orator and journalist of Ohio; George Hillgaertner and Daniel Hertle, of St. Louis, to all of whom, besides many others, the country is greatly indebted for their noble efforts on behalf of human freedom and the union of the states. Others, like Heinrich Boernstein, colonel of one of the four German regiments that captured Camp Jackson, in Missouri, at the outbreak of the war, and now and for many years past the correspondent of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* at Vienna; Gottfried Kellner, editor of the *Philadelphia Demokrat*; Emil Praetorius, editor of the *Westliche Post*; Carl Daenzer, of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, both of St. Louis; Wilhelm Rapp, of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, and formerly of the *Baltimore Wecker*; Eduard Schlaeger, formerly of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, and now in Berlin, Prussia; Dr. Hans Kudlich and Sigmund Kaufman, both of New York; Conrad Krez, the able German poet of Wisconsin; of these several are still living, the most of whom are journalists.

It will be remembered that all the men above referred to as revolutionaries from 1848 were young enthusiasts, fresh from school, and inspired by ideas for which they were ready to sacrifice their lives. It has never been claimed that any one of them was actuated by selfish motives, and the worst that their opponents have been able to urge against them is that they were misguided youths. The case is different, however, with those who, in the riper years of manhood, acted as leaders in the movement, whose previous career in Germany as well as their revolutionary conduct is, therefore, well known, and whose character in Germany affords to the searcher after truth a study as interesting and instructive as the American career of the younger men. As already intimated, the scenes in the little grand-duchy of Baden were the most exciting, and it was there the revolutionary party held sway for some time after they had succeeded in driving the monarchical government from the country. The principal leaders in the movement were Friedrich Hecker, Lorenz Brentano, and Gustav Struve, all three of whom came to this country after the old system was restored. The events of the Badish revolution have been written up from different standpoints, but no one has treated them so exhaustively as the eminent German historian, Ludwig Häusser, professor of history at Heidelberg, in his work entitled

*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Badischen Revolution*, published in 1851. He is a keen observer of men and events, records the facts faithfully, and persuades the reader that the conclusion he draws relating to the character of the leaders is fully justified. A personal acquaintance of many years' standing with the actors in the drama facilitated the work of rendering a true account of these memorable events. It may be added that he is the author of a history of the Reformation, and of a history of the German people from the close of the Thirty Years' War, in 1648, to the close of the Napoleonic wars, in 1815, both works of universally recognized merit.

In the case of Friedrich Hecker, we are advised by some of his best and discreetest friends that the judgment of the historian is admirably well-founded, and in that of Lorenz Brentano the fact is that the men of his own party, who were members of the revolutionary government under him, speak of him substantially in the same spirit in which he is treated by Ludwig Häusser. For a better appreciation of the career of these two men in this country, and in the interest of truth, it may, therefore, not be out of place to quote a few passages from Häusser's works. Concerning Friedrich Hecker, the historian says:

"Before the revolution Friedrich was the spoiled child of the liberal opposition. Since 1842 a member of the Badish chamber of deputies, he represented the youthful, unfermented, and stormy element of the Badish Left. Endowed by nature with brilliant talents as a public speaker, gifted with all external advantages and a charming and lively individuality, skillful as a dialectician and quick in repartee, like the best routined advocate, he was in reality the Percy Hotspur of the Badish revolution, and, with his impetuous and passionate temper and high flights of fancy, a strong support for the party with which he trained, though it was impossible to keep him in discipline. Naturally inclined to be eccentric, peculiar, and odd, without the just measure of a more refined mental training, he was and always remained the gay student, who conducted politics as he would crack a student's joke, without premeditation, fickle-minded, a perfect model of a student's nonchalance. His ideas were in a state of wild fermentation; a clear political system could not be brought out of him. He had read much, but digested little; he lacked the kind of education which permeates a man's entire being, and does not only cling to the external side of things. Original ideas and real political thoughts stood out but little in his public utterances, but striking sentences, similitudes, and reminiscences were skillfully interwoven so as to dazzle his hearers; with a remarkable talent for negation he could hardly be taken for a productive political genius. He would certainly have become as much of a mediocre

revolutionary statesman as he was an excellent lawyer and a skillful speaker. Capricious, sensitive, irritable as he was, endowed with a large dose of vanity, he finally became to his party a real burden; discipline and party tactics were matters which the whimsical and mistrained man could not be brought up to. Still, among all the men of prominence who were raised up by the radicalism of Baden, during the latter days of the revolution, Hecker was, after all, the most tolerable. Personally, he had many good qualities. He was sincere and without knavery, good-natured and harmless toward his friends, and in his personal intercourse an amiable, though an easily irritated, man; susceptible of enthusiastic emotions, and though impelled by self-conceit and an imperious nature, he was not governed by the low motives that controlled the weaklings who followed him. His talents also placed him above those. He had all the qualities of a first-class agitator, knew how to excite the masses and array them with him, and might have been a powerful partisan, though it may be doubted if he was the man who knew how to make a revolution." \*

Hecker came to America in 1849, at the age of thirty-eight years, and settled on a farm near Belleville, Illinois, where he remained to the end of his life. The excellent qualities mentioned by the historian in the foregoing extract stood him in good stead in this country. During the exciting canvas of 1856 he threw himself impetuously into the campaign, and delivered stirring speeches for free labor before immense German audiences throughout the country. At the outbreak of the war he organized a regiment of Illinois volunteers, and moved with it into the field as its colonel; but owing to his imperious nature, which involved him in serious quarrels with several line officers of the regiment, he resigned the command in December, 1861. In the summer following he organized another regiment, at the head of which he served with distinction to the end of the war, being seriously wounded at Chancellorsville. In the several presidential campaigns from 1856 onward, he did much valuable and unselfish service for the republican party, both as a speaker and writer, and, though often tendered to him; he never accepted or held an office. He died in March, 1882.

As to Lorenz Brentano, I find on pages 150 and 151 of Ludwig Häusser's history the following, which I translate literally:

"A phenomenon observed in all revolutions is the precipitous decline, the quickly progressing deterioration, of demagoguery. Witness the time of 1789. What fearful disparity between Mirabeau and Danton, between the latter and Robespierre and Marat. Our revolution presents in a

\* See Häusser, pp. 115 *et seq.*

smaller measure the same spectacle. With Hecker the revolution began; in Brentano it brought forward a far worse representative, and even he was quickly overtaken when the last restraints were swept away.

With Hecker, Brentano had nothing in common but the scheming radicalism of the advocate. Of the impetuous and exalted character of the youthful tribune, which carried the masses with him, of his genuine fire of enthusiasm, of his bewitching appearance, Brentano possessed nothing; his whole nature was that of a common, ay, even a low, demagogue. Hecker's individuality, his whole exterior, his address, all these recalled the moments when the unchained passions, with demoniac power, control the souls of men and sweep them irresistibly onward. From Brentano, however, one could only hear the demagogue's venomous art of calumny and sophistry. Himself cold and selfish, incapable of an enthusiastic emotion, without an elevating thought, without ideas and without ideals, Brentano showed in his whole external appearance, his speech and acts, nothing but the glib tongue and the dialectics of the advocate, the untiring zeal of the partisan, the superior cunning of a pettifogger, the brazen face of a demagogue of the worst order. His speech was cold and sober, only warmed up artificially by personal spite and by false and acrimonious denunciations, while his bearing exhibited an unspeakable insolence, sneering and full of personal gall, and when anger and wrath overpowered him it was doubtful whether the whole appearance of the man was more disgusting than hideous. We know well that the rôle of artificial moderation which he played later on bespoke for him a somewhat milder criticism, but the truth is, of all men who in March, 1848, took part in public life in Baden, nobody bears such a terrible personal responsibility as he, and none has deserved the contempt of all parties, at the end even of his own, as did Lorenz Brentano."

The historian shows among other things that Lorenz Brentano became a rebel against the Badish government for no other reason but because of his disappointed ambition to become a minister in the little duchy, and that his own friends often charged him with being possessed of a *porte-feuille wuth* (a rage for a portfolio). Lorenz Brentano came to this country in 1849, at the age of thirty-seven years. He first settled in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, where he started a German newspaper, in which, however, he was not successful. A little later he went to Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he took an interest in a brewery until about 1860. During these years he remained neutral in the great fight for American free labor, not having, so far as is known, either written or spoken a word in favor of either party until he came to Chicago in the year 1860. In April,

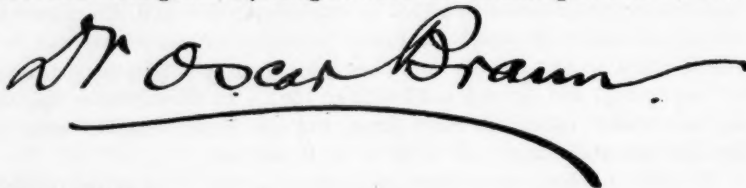


1861, he secured an interest in the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, and in 1863 bought out George Schneider, and became the editor of the paper. In 1867 he sold his interest to A. C. Hesing, organized a paper in opposition to the *Staats Zeitung* under the name of *Volks Zeitung*, but gave it up as a failure in 1868. From 1865 to 1868 he was a member of the board of education of Chicago, and did much to introduce the German into the public schools. In the spring of 1868 he went to Europe, where he remained until the winter of 1872. In September of the same year he was appointed, by President Grant, United States consul at Dresden, which position he resigned in 1876. In the summer of that year he presented himself to the republican state convention at Springfield, Illinois, as a candidate for secretary of state, but failed to get the nomination. In the fall of 1876 he succeeded, however, in being elected a member of congress from one of the Chicago districts, but when he sought a renomination two years later he failed. In 1879 he obtained, from the judges at Chicago, a recommendation to the governor of Illinois for the appointment of justice of the peace, and the governor accordingly appointed him; but the senate of the state, lieutenant-governor Andrew Shuman, editor of the *Chicago Evening Journal*, presiding, voted not to confirm him, since which time he has withdrawn from politics. He is still living in Chicago.

As to Gustav Struve, a man of fair literary ability and very prolific as an author, it is generally conceded that he was an uncompromising radical republican, and an impractical though well-meaning visionary. He had done much literary work in Germany, and after his arrival in the United States resumed the publication of a German weekly, called *Der Deutsche Zuschauer*, which he had previously published in Mannheim, Baden, but of which he did not make a success. Between the years 1854 and 1856 he published a universal history of the world, in six volumes, which was subsequently continued to the extent of nine volumes, and which has secured quite a circulation. There also issued from his pen several books on phrenology, a science to which he was deeply devoted, and also a work on vegetarianism, in which he firmly believed. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted as a private in a New York regiment, was soon promoted to a captaincy, and served until late in 1862. In 1865 he was appointed United States consul at Sonneberg, but the Saxon duchies refused to give him the *exequatur*. He died in Vienna in 1870.

Notwithstanding some slight disadvantages the influx of men of letters from Germany, resulting from the political disturbance in that country before its unification, has been to this country an incalculable blessing. I reserve for a subsequent paper the material afforded to show how many

able and brilliant soldiers who came to this country under similar circumstances as those above mentioned did noble service on the battle-fields of the union during the war in the United States, and also how immense the flocks of immigrants who were thrown upon our shores as participants in the strife of 1848, and who, by their intelligence and industry, beautified and enriched our fields and rendered most essential aid in the building up of our industries. This article may show to a limited extent how largely the American intellect evinced in letters and politics was augmented by these German exiles. Nor may it be amiss to add in conclusion that earnest study and profound learning were at all times largely represented by the German immigrants of previous periods. We read in the history of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, that the students of Harvard were surprised at finding among the early German immigrants so many profound Latin scholars, who spoke the Latin as fluently as their own native language. Dr. Kuntze, in the last century, was praised by the American scholars as the founder of Hebrew and oriental philology in America. Father Otterbein was a Protestant divine who came to America about the year 1752, at the age of twenty-six, and died at Baltimore in the year 1813. "Is Father Otterbein dead?" exclaimed Bishop Ashburton upon hearing of his demise. "Great and good man of God! Honor to his church and his country! He was one of the greatest scholars and theologians who ever came to this country or was born here." On the death of John Schwartz, a representative in congress from Pennsylvania, Charles Sumner said: "The brave and pure German stock, which, from that early day when first revealed to history in the sharp and clean-cut style of Tacitus, has preserved its original peculiarities untouched by change, showing that though the individual is mortal the race is immortal. We cannot forget the 'Fatherland' which out of its abundance has given to our republic so many good heads, so many strong arms, with so much of virtue and intelligence, rejoicing in freedom and calling no man master."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Dr. Oscar Braun". The signature is written in dark ink and is underlined with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## RESULTS OF KEEPING A SECRET

When Zebulon M. Pike was in New Mexico in 1807 he met at Santa Fé a carpenter, Pursley by name, from Bardstown, Kentucky, who was working at his trade there because he could not well get away. He had, in 1802, while out on the plains hunting, met with a series of misfortunes, and found himself, in 1804 or 1805, with a hunting party near the mountains. The hostile Sioux of the plains drove them into the high ground in the rear of Pike's Peak. Near the headwaters of "La Platte river" Pursley found some gold. He carried a little of it in his shot-pouch for months. He was finally sent by his companions to Santa Fé to see if they could trade with the Spaniards, and chose to remain at Santa Fé in preference to returning to the hunting-party.

He told the Spaniards about the gold he had found, and they tried very hard to persuade him to go and show them the place. They even offered to take along a strong force of cavalry. But Pursley refused, and his patriotic reason was that he thought the land was on United States territory. He told Lieutenant Pike that he feared they would not allow him to leave Santa Fé, as they still hoped to learn from him where the gold was to be found.

These facts were published by Lieutenant Pike soon after his return, but no one took the hint, or the risk was too great, and thus more than half a century passed before those same rich fields of gold were found and opened to the world. If Pursley had been somewhat less patriotic, and had guided the Spaniards to the treasures, the whole history and condition of the western part of our continent might have been entirely different from what it now is. That region would doubtless have been a part of Mexico; or Spain might have been in possession of it, owning California, and, with the gold that would have poured into her coffers, have been the leading nation in European affairs to-day. We can easily see how American and European history in the nineteenth century might have been changed if that adventurer from Kentucky had not been a true lover of his native country. All honor to Pursley! If I knew where he was buried I would feel like making a pilgrimage to his grave. He ought to have a monument, simply because he kept that secret so well.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.

*R. T. Cross.*

## SLAVERY IN CONNECTICUT

The colonial records of Connecticut contain frequent references to existing customs, and preserve many acts of the general assembly concerning slaves. In October, 1690, it was ordered that runaway negroes be returned to their owners, and no negro was to be ferried across a stream without a certificate.

When slaves became old it was customary to give them their freedom, and, that they might not suffer in their old age, the court, in May, 1702, ordered that "every servant shall be maintained by the person to whom said servant belonged." By an act of 1708, turbulent slaves were ordered to be whipped, not exceeding thirty stripes for one offense. To prevent disorder, the law of 1723 provided that no slave or Indian servant was to be abroad after nine o'clock in the evening, without special permission from his master. Any one so found must be "publicly whipped" on his naked body *ten stripes*, unless his master paid twenty shillings for his rescue from the penalty.

In 1730, slaves were whipped for slander, not exceeding forty stripes, and were to be sold to pay charges, unless redeemed by master or mistress. The slave was to be allowed to make his own defense at his trial the same as a white person. Efforts were repeatedly made by the colonists to check the importation of slaves. At a meeting of the "council of safety," in Hartford, January, 1708-9, an answer was given to an inquiry of the lords of trade, relative to the African trade for negroes; in which the council reported that there were but few negroes in this government, and that "they were supplied from the neighboring governments, save that sometimes half a dozen a year may be imported from the West Indies. None have ever been imported by the Royal African Company or separate traders."\*

In 1715 it was forbidden by the general court to import "Carolina Indians" as slaves, lest they should be injurious to the colonies. The general assembly of Connecticut passed an act in 1774, as follows: "Whereas the increase of slaves in this colony is injurious to the poor, and inconvenient: Be it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives in the general court assembled, and by authority of the same: That no Indian, negro, or mulatto slaves shall at any time hereafter be brought

\* Colonial Records of Connecticut, Vol. XV., p. 557.

or imported into the colony by sea or land, from any place or places whatsoever, to be disposed of, left, or sold within this colony."

If slaves were bought or sold contrary to this act, the violators of the law were to pay the treasurer of the colony one hundred pounds lawful money. Yet slaves were sold, though probably not imported, after this legislative act of 1774. The following bill of sale of a negro slave, now in possession of the Historical Society of Westport, explains itself :

"Know all men by these presents that we, Ebenezer Jesup & Abigail Meeker both of the Town & County of Fairfield & State of Connecticut, and administrators upon the estate of Daniel Meeker, late of said Fairfield, deceased, for the consideration of Fifty Six Pounds, lawful money, received to our full satisfaction of Ebenezer Coley of said Fairfield, have & do by these presents bargain, sell, & convey unto him y<sup>e</sup> said Ebenezer Coley, & to his heirs & assigns forever, a certain *Negro Boy* name *Prince*, about ten years of age, with y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Coley to live, & him to serve in y<sup>e</sup> capacity of a slave during y<sup>e</sup> whole term of his natural life ; and furthermore we the s<sup>d</sup> Ebenezer and Abigail do for ourselves, heirs & executors & administrators, covenant with him y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Coley, his heirs and assigns, that, until the ensealing of these Presents, we are as well seized of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> servant, & have as good right to bargain & sell him as the said Meeker in his lifetime had, and will so far forever warrant and defend him to said Coley, his heirs and assigns, against all claims & demands whatsoever. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & seal this 15<sup>th</sup> day of February A. D. 1785.

In presence of

David Beers,  
Samuel Meeker.

Ebenezer Jesup, [seal]  
Abigail Meeker. [seal]"

Local newspapers, seventy-five years ago, furnished some curious advertisements. Here is one taken from the *New York Spectator* for April, 1814 :

"RUNAWAY NEGROES!

*Sixty Dollars Reward.*

Ranaway from the subscriber, from Flat Lands, King's Co. Long Island, on Monday the 7th ultimo, a Negro Man & his Wife ; named Will & Sue, & three children, all of very yellowish complexion. The man is five feet high, middling thick set, with a scar on his right shin—his wife is about the same height, rather thin, she has longish hair, and has lost two of her front teeth ; it is impossible to describe their clothing, they had



such a quantity—the eldest of the children is a girl about seven years of age; the second is four; and the youngest two years old. Whoever will return them to their masters, or leave them at the City Prison in New York, shall receive the above reward. All masters of vessels and others are forbid harboring or employing the said Runaways, at their peril.

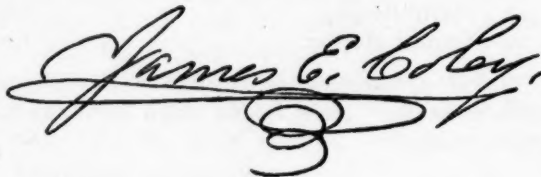
Johannes Remsen,  
John Schenck."

Here is, another from Greenwich, Connecticut, a year later, dated June 15, 1813:

"Runaway, from the Subscriber on the ninth inst., a negro man named James, nearly 18 years of age and about 5 feet 10 in. high: took with him at the time a brown cloth coatee & pantaloons a light figured cotton vest and tow cloth frock and trousers. He is marked by a scar obliquely across the ridge of his nose with others on his feet, particularly a large one on his left foot just back of the small toe, occasioned by the cut of an axe, which causes it to be stiffened. All persons are hereby cautioned not to harbor said runaway: and whoever will give information of him so that he can be obtained by the subscriber (to whom he is bound until he is 21 years of age,) shall be liberally rewarded.

Blatt Buffett."

These advertisements bring the slave and his master before us at a comparatively late day, and some of the present generation in Connecticut can remember the old negro servants who spent their early life in slavery.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James E. Coley". The signature is written in dark ink and features a large, ornate flourish at the end of the name.

WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT.

## THE DEATH OF COLMAN

SEPTEMBER 6, 1609

'Twas Juet spoke—the *Half Moon's* mate ;  
And they, who Holland's ship of state  
Compass'd with wisdom, listening sate :

Discovery's near-extinguished spark  
Flared up into a blaze,  
When Man-na-hat-ta's virgin hills,  
Enriched by Autumn's days,  
First fell on our impatient sight,  
And soothed us with a strange delight.

Bidden by fevered trade, our keel  
Had plowed unbeaten deeps ;  
From many a perfume-laden isle  
To the dark land that sleeps  
Forever in its winter robe,  
Th' unsocial hermit of the globe.

But we, who sought for China's strand  
By ocean ways untried,  
Forgot our mission when we cast  
Our anchor in a tide  
That kissed a gem too wondrous fair  
For any eastern sea to wear !

Entranced, we saw the golden woods  
Slope gently to the sands ;  
The grassy meads, the oaks that dwarfed  
Their kin of other lands ;  
And from the shore the balmy wind  
Blew sweeter than the spice of Ind.

As he whose eyes, though opened wide,  
Are fixed upon a dream,  
So Colman—one who long had held  
Our Hudson's warm esteem—  
Gazed on the gorgeous scene, and said,  
" Ere even's shades are overspread,

" Proudly our flag on yonder height  
 Shall tell of Holland's gain ;  
 Proclaiming her to all the earth  
 The sovereign of the main."  
 And quickly from the *Half Moon's* bow  
 We turned the longboat's yielding prow.\*

The measured plashing of the oars  
 Broke harshly on the ear ;  
 And eye asked eye—for lips were mute—  
 What Holland hearts should fear :  
 For [strangely true] our hearts were soft,  
 Save his, who held our flag aloft.

And suddenly our unshaped dread  
 Took direful form and sound ;  
 For from a near nook's rocky shade,  
 Swift as pursuing hound,  
 A savage shallop sped, to hold  
 From stranger feet that strand of gold.

And rageful cries awoke the peace  
 That on the waters slept ;  
 And Echo whispered on the hills,  
 As though an army crept,  
 With flinty axe and brutal blade,  
 Through the imperforate forest shade.

" What ! are ye cravens ? " Colman said ;  
 For each had shipped his oar.  
 He waved the flag : " For Netherland,  
 Pull for yon jutting shore ! "  
 Then prone he fell within the boat,  
 A flinthead arrow through his throat !

\* On the 6th of September, 1609, Henry Hudson, commander of the *Half Moon*, then at anchor in the lower New York bay, sent out Colman with four seamen to sound the Narrows. They passed through Kill von Kull to Newark bay, and while returning to the *Half Moon* late in the afternoon were attacked by some Indians in canoes, and Colman was killed by one of their arrows. The Indians, doubtless, shot their arrows at random, as there is no evidence that hostilities were continued, or any attempt made to capture the boat. Night came on, and the frightened sailors lost their light and their way, and were tossed about on the troubled sea until ten o'clock the next morning, when, with the remains of their murdered officer, they were at last received upon the *Half Moon*. Colman was buried upon a point of land near by, later known as Coney Island.—  
 EDITOR.

And now full many a stealthy skiff  
Shot out into the bay ;  
And swiftly, sadly, pulled we back  
To where the *Half Moon* lay :  
But he was dead—our master wept—  
He smiled, brave heart, as though he slept.

Then to the seaward breeze our sail  
With woful hearts we threw ;  
And anchored near a sandy strip  
That looks o'er ocean blue :  
And there we kissed and buried him,  
While surges sang his funeral hymn.

And many a pitying glance we gave,  
And many a prayer we said,  
As from that grave we turned, and left  
The dark sea with her dead ;  
For—God of Waves !—none could repress  
One choking thought—*the loneliness !*

NEW YORK CITY

*Thos Frost-*

## WASHINGTON AS A PROMOTER OF INVENTIONS

Dr. Joseph M. Toner of Washington, in his masterly address on the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the first American patent law, said :

" If it cannot be claimed that Washington originated the idea of recognizing property in inventions, he was without doubt the chief promoter of the sentiment which brought together the convention of delegates from the several states to consider their future well-being and to form a more perfect union.

By a unanimous desire of the convention, General Washington was called upon to preside over the gathering. Through the careful deliberations of this equal rights and liberty loving conclave of statesmen was evolved our written Constitution, which has welded the United States into a nation. This, our magna charta, may be claimed as one of the most original and beneficent inventions in the art of government ever devised to secure liberty to a people with equal justice to all, regulated by law. It is not certain who introduced into the convention the proposition regarding patents and copyrights, but considering the personnel of the convention it might have originated with either Washington or Franklin, and was certain of an earnest support from both. This was the first assembly of law-makers in the world to reduce such conception to a practical formula, or make it a fundamental principle that inventors and authors have a right in their inventions which should be recognized and protected for a limited time by law.

While it may not be claimed that George Washington is descended from a line of inventors, sages, or heroes, history confirms the fact that he sprung from an intelligent, enterprising, courageous, self-reliant, truth and labor loving, God-fearing stock, who were in their day and generation leading citizens in the community in which they lived. The instances in which Washington gave encouragement to new inventions are numerous, and the fact is beyond doubt that he provided the best machinery for his mills, and, everything considered, for all the industries under his control. He also had a kind word of encouragement for those working, to the end of devising new methods and improved implements in the arts. This spirit, along with his official duty to see proper laws enacted by congress under the authority of the Constitution which he had assisted in draughting, led him in his first annual message to commend measures to foster new



and useful inventions, and doubtless gave him special pleasure to sign the first patent law under the government of the United States, as well as to attach his name to the first patent, issued shortly after under the act.

A consensus of the most careful studies of the life of George Washington from his childhood represents him as mentally and physically precocious; attaining almost his full stature in his nineteenth year, but throughout his youth diffident almost to bashfulness; men of experience marveled at the maturity of his judgment and his knowledge of the details of business and public affairs.

Washington's diary for 1760 notes very briefly the events occurring at Mount Vernon, and especially matters relating to the management of his plantations. These memoranda, brief as they are, show that he was giving close personal attention to the improvement of his estates, which was only interrupted by occasional visits to Williamsburg to attend the meetings of the assembly. The following extract from his diary at this period furnishes good examples not only of his love of agriculture, but in especial manner of his ingenuity and fertility of invention and desire to improve the implements of husbandry: 'Thursday, Mar. 6th, 1760.—Fitted a two-eyed plow instead of a duck-bill plow, and with much difficulty made my chariot wheel-horse plow. Wednesday, Mar. 19th. . . . Peter (my smith) and I, after several efforts to make a plow after a new model, partly of my own contriving, was feign to give it up, at least for the present.'

March 21 Washington records the fact that he had that day grafted forty-one cherry-tree grafts, twelve magnum-bonum plums, and planted four nuts of the Mediterranean pines. 'The cherries and plumb came from Col. Mason's, the nuts from Mr. Green's.' To the close of the month of March the diary shows that he was daily grafting and planting fruit-trees to the number of several hundred. For many years his diaries show that in the months of February and March he was much occupied in setting out and grafting choice fruit-trees. 'Wednesday, Mar. 26th. . . . Spent the greater part of the day in making a new plow of my own invention. Thursday, Mar. 27. . . . Set my plow to work and found she answered very well in the lower pasture, wch I this day began plowing with the large bay mare and Rankin. . . . Agreed to give Mr. Wm. Triplet £18 to build metwo houses in the front of my house (plastering them also), and running walls for palisades to them from the great house, and from the great house to the wash-house and kitchen also. Saturday, April 5. . . . Made another plow, the same as my former, except that it has two eyes and the other one. Monday, April 14th. Fine warm day, wind so'ly, and clear till the even'g, when it clouded; no fish were to be caught to-day either.

Mixed my composts in a box with ten apartments, each having a different fertilizer.'

May 1 Washington records that he inspected the grain planted in the ten boxes, each containing a different compost, as a test. These experiments show how close an observer he was, but they are too extended to be given in full here. He concludes, all things considered, that boxes eight and nine promised the most satisfactory results.

At this period nearly all the trades essential to serve the wants of an independent community were represented and carried on at Mount Vernon—such as milling, distilling, tanning, blacksmithing, wagon making, shoe-making, tailoring, spinning, weaving, knitting, carpentering, coopering, harness-making, brick making and laying, stonemasons, etc.

Washington's exactness in charging to each enterprise its just expense is illustrated in his noting the number of days' labor required by his carpenters in building his schooner at Mount Vernon, which we transfer in his own language from his diary: 'Sept. 15, 1765.—To this day my carpenters had in all worked 82 days on my schooner. 22d. This week they worked 22 days upon her. 28th. This week my carpenters worked 22 days upon my schooner—and John Askew 3 days. Oct. 19th. This week carpenters worked 18 days, which make in all 190 days & 10 of John Askew.'

Washington was noted for owning fine horses. He also enjoyed, on proper occasions, extending their use to visiting friends for a dash after a fox and hounds over the Mount Vernon plains. He was a rapid rider in his ordinary business journeys, and his diaries record the fact that on various occasions he rode as much as sixty miles a day.

The intelligent supervision he gave to his plantations between 1759 and 1770 brought them into as fine condition as any land in the Mount Vernon region was susceptible of. He stopped the washes on the hill sides, drained the wet lands by proper ditching, made new clearings, refenced the fields, made roads, erected comfortable houses and outbuildings, with quarters for his people, rested the old fields in fallow-sowed clover, timothy, and other grasses for hay, and pastured and rotated his crops in the most judicious and practical manner.

Washington possessed to an eminent degree those special qualities which are characteristic of the most astute inventors, and had not his time been so fully taken up in the more important affairs of his country, he would in all probability have given much attention to improvements in agriculture and the machinery and implements used in the domestic arts, and which are so essential to the comforts of life. Washington had made for himself the first pump used in the town of Alexandria, and another

placed at Mount Vernon, at a time when but few had been put in competition with "the old oaken bucket," the rope and windlass, or the balance lift so common in wells throughout the South in early days.

In a letter to General Lincoln, dated Mount Vernon, February 8, 1786, Washington uses the following language in relation to a supposed important discovery: 'The discovery of extracting fresh water from salt, by a simple process, and without the aid of fire, will be of amazing importance to the sons of Neptune, if it is not vitiated or rendered nauseous by the operation, and can be made to answer all the other valuable purposes of other fresh water at sea. Every maritime power in the world in this case ought, in my opinion, to offer some acknowledgment to the inventor.' He had faith in the progress of the human race and believed in making earnest efforts to improve not only man's surroundings and conditions, but also his methods of securing a livelihood, and at the same time liberalizing the institutions and governments under which they lived. To him is awarded the credit of the introduction into the United States of the best breeds of that very useful animal, the mule. He also gave much attention to improving the breeds of sheep, hogs, horses, cattle, and dogs, etc.

The expedient adopted by Washington in sowing clover, timothy, and other small seeds broadcast, to insure an even distribution of the seed over the ground, was to mix them with dry sand or ashes, so that greater bulk might be taken in the hand for each cast. The spirit of inquiry and desire for exact knowledge remained an active element in Washington's character to the close of his life, but it is nevertheless wonderful that as late as 1788 he should take the pains to count the actual number of peas and beans there were in a pint measure of six varieties of them, that he might know the quantity of ground to prepare, and the number of hills a bushel of each would plant, as will be noticed from his diaries.

He also counted the number of clover, timothy, and sainfoin seed there was in a pint, that he might estimate the quantity to sow upon an acre. While in Philadelphia, in 1787, attending the convention which drafted the Constitution, Washington 'Visited a machine at Doctor Franklin's (called a mangle) for pressing, in place of Ironing, clothes from the wash—which machine from the facility with which it dispatches business is well calculated for table cloths & such articles as have not pleats & irregular foldings, and would be very useful in all large families.'

It would be easy to multiply examples of General Washington's experiments to promote agriculture and to devise better methods and implements than were then in use in the domestic arts and pursuits; but enough evidence has been adduced to make it apparent that the mind of Wash-

ington was pre-eminently efficient in devising expedients and all essential machinery to accomplish in the shortest time and in the best manner his purposes, whether in the management of a farm, the command of an army, or the administration of the affairs of a nation.

Washington was among the first to call attention to the desirableness, and, he hoped, the practicability of having a continuous water navigation to near the head of the Potomac, and of the western rivers to the head of some branch of the Ohio river on the west, which would leave but a short portage between. His interest in canal navigation was well known, and when James Rumsey was in 1784 experimenting at Shepherdstown, on the Potomac, with a boat to be propelled against a stream by machinery, Washington was invited to witness the performance, so widely was it understood that he was an influential promoter of new inventions. His great and priceless services to America in the clash of arms between the mother country and the colonies are known to every American capable of enjoying civil liberty. It is also known that throughout that memorable struggle it was Washington's personal magnetism and the faith his soldiers had that enabled him to overcome the apparently insurmountable difficulty of keeping his forces in the field against the enemy, in spite of an empty exchequer, a depleted commissary, and a lack of clothing. For a period the extreme hardships growing out of the deficiencies in the necessary supplies put to a supreme test the greatness of Washington as a leader and a patriot, and required a fortitude and an inventive genius of the highest order to keep his soldiers together. However, his virtues and rectitude from the beginning, and his conduct at every stage of the contest, determined the end and crowned the work. Washington was referred to by Lord Byron as the great Cincinnatus of the West, who, like his classic prototype, was called from his favorite pursuit—that of agriculture—to command the armies of his country in defense of its liberty against a formidable enemy.

The parentage, the disciplined mind, the associations and the pursuits of Washington, from his cradle to his grave, were all so admirable as to fully satisfy the most exacting requirements of the highest standard of excellence in character, and each gave assurance that he was by his life and labors pre-eminently deserving of the admiration of mankind, above that of any mortal who has ever lived. Each act of his eventful life but the purer grows as studied free from the passions of his time. . . . The purest patriot of all the ages occupied his splendid talents in keeping his heart in sympathy with the latest improvements in everything which tended to advance the happiness of his race and country."

## MINOR TOPICS

### EXTRACTS FROM SIR WALTER SCOTT'S JOURNAL

TOM MOORE AND LORD BYRON

*November 22, 1825*—I saw Moore (for the first time I may say) this season. We had, indeed, met in public twenty years ago. There is a manly frankness and perfect ease and good breeding about him which is delightful. Not the least touch of the poet or the pedant. A little—very little man. Less, I think, than Lewis, and somewhat like him in person; God knows not in conversation, for Matt, though a clever fellow, was a bore of the first description. Moreover, he looked always like a schoolboy. I remember a picture of him being handed about at Dalkeith House. It was a miniature, I think, by Sanders, who had contrived to muffle Lewis's person in a cloak and place some poignard or dark lanthorn appurtenance in his hand, so as to give the picture the cast of a bravo. "That like Matt Lewis?" said Duke Henry to whom it had passed in turn. "Why, that is like a MAN!" Imagine the effect! Lewis was at his elbow. Now, Moore has none of this insignificance; to be sure his person is much stouter, and his countenance is decidedly plain, but the expression is so very animated, especially in speaking or singing, that it is far more interesting than the finest features could have rendered it.

I was aware that Byron had often spoken both in private society and in his journal of Moore and myself in the same breath, and with the same sort of regard; so I was curious to see what there could be in common betwixt us, Moore having lived so much in the gay world, I in the country, and with people of business, and sometimes with politicians; Moore a scholar, I none; he a musician and artist, I without knowledge of a note; he a democrat, I an aristocrat—with many other points of difference; besides his being an Irishman, I a Scotchman, and both tolerably national. Yet there is a point of resemblance and a strong one. We are both good-humored fellows, who rather seek to enjoy what is going forward than to maintain our dignity as lions; and we have both seen the world too widely and too well not to condemn in our souls the imaginary consequence of literary people who walk with their noses in the air.

Moore has, I think, been ill treated about Byron's *Memoirs*. He surrendered them to the family (Lord Byron's executors), and thus lost £2,000 which he had raised upon them at a most distressing moment of his life. It is true they offered and pressed the money on him afterward, but they ought to have settled it with the booksellers and not put poor Tom's spirit in arms against his interest. At any rate there must be an authentic life of Byron by somebody. Why should they not



give the benefit of their materials to Tom Moore, whom Byron had made the depositary of his own *Memoirs*?

It would be a delightful addition to life if Tom Moore had a cottage within two miles of one. We went to the theatre together, and the house being luckily a good one, received Tom Moore with rapture. I could have hugged them, for it paid back the debt of the kind reception I met with in Ireland.

*November 23*—On comparing notes with Moore I was confirmed in one or two points which I had always laid down in considering poor Byron. One was that, like Rosseau, he was apt to be very suspicious, and a plain downright steadiness of manner was the true mode to maintain his good opinion. Will Rose told me once, while sitting with Byron, he fixed insensibly his eyes on his feet, one of which it must be remembered was deformed. Looking up suddenly he saw Byron regarding him with a look of concentrated and deep displeasure, which wore off when he observed no consciousness or embarrassment in the countenance of Rose. Murray afterward explained this by telling Rose that Lord Byron was very jealous of having this personal imperfection noticed or alluded to. In another point Moore confirmed my previous opinion that Byron loved mischief-making. Moore had written to him cautioning him against the project of establishing the paper called the *Liberal* in communion with such men as Shelley and Hunt, on whom he said the world had set its mark. Byron showed this to the parties. Shelley wrote a modest and rather affecting expostulation to Moore. These two peculiarities of extreme suspicion and love of mischief are both shades of the malady which certainly tintured some part of the character of this mighty genius—I mean that kind which depends on the imaginative power, perhaps cannot exist to great extent. The wheels of a machine to play rapidly must not fit with the utmost exactness, else the attrition diminishes the impetus.

Another of Byron's peculiarities was the love of mystifying, which indeed may be referred to that of mischief. There was no knowing how much or how little to believe of his narratives. Byron was disposed to think all men of imagination were addicted to mix fiction (or poetry) with their prose. He loved to be thought awful, mysterious, and gloomy, and sometimes hinted at strange causes. I believe the whole to have been the creation and sport of a wild and powerful fancy. In the same manner he *crammed* people, as it is termed, about duels, etc., which never existed or were much exaggerated.

What I liked about Byron, besides his boundless genius, was his generosity of spirit as well as purse, and his utter contempt of all the affectations of literature, from the school magisterial style to the lackadaisical. Byron's example has formed a sort of upper house of poetry.—*The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*. Harper & Brothers.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### RARE LETTER OF GENERAL BENJAMIN TUPPER, 1792

[Contributed by Mr. E. C. Dawes]

[The original of this "memorandum" is among the Putnam MSS. in the library of the college at Marietta, Ohio. It was given by General Benjamin Tupper to General Rufus Putnam when he left Marietta for Philadelphia, early in 1792, to attend a meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio company. It has historical value in its explanation of the long delay in the surveys in the northwestern territory after the passage of the land ordinance of May 20, 1785. E. C. D.]

SIR.

MARIETTA, Jan. 27, 1792.

I wish you to call up a petition of mine to Congress (perhaps it is at the Board of Treasury) for allowance for the loss of time through some defect while attempting to survey the western territory under the direction of that good & honest, but feeble and timid man the late Tho's Hutchins Esqr. He did not meet us in 1785 at Fort Pitt by near a month after the time he had appointed where we lay at great private expense and when he arrived would not suffer us to proceed on the survey until he had consulted the savages by message whether they would come and protect us in our surveys, which discovered such timidity on our part that he received the answer almost every one expected, viz., not to proceed, which raised their importance so that next year they undertook, and did absolutely insult us, that we could not proceed in the surveys with the least expedition, consequently lost two years with effecting what might have been done in a short time the first year, if the surveyors had had liberty to proceed, consequently might obtained something for the loss of time, and the second year were obliged to return (myself seven hundred miles) without effecting anything and waited orders of the Geographer the third year but received none only to return some monies he had overpaid for our actual service—so that in fact I lost three whole years in waiting on this business, having put my private affairs out of my hands, by which I lost two thousand dollars besides my loss of time; as no service for the public was more fatiguing, I question if any servants of the public have been so neglected for their faithful services.

Sir, your good sense will enable you to suggest many things more than I can write; one thing more I would suggest is, that I trust when the matter is deliberated upon they will not confine the sum granted, to the sum asked for in my petition, but will make other allowances for the loss of time and extra expense. I am liable to a suit for about 400 dollars all expended in the service of the public.

I remain your obedient humble serv't BENJ. TUPPER.

N. B. Mr. Hutchins constantly assured the surveyors there was not the least doubt of their being paid for their loss of time under such circumstances, which quieted the surveyors.

HONORABLE JUDGE PUTNAM.

## NOTES

THE ROYAL CHESTNUT OF MEXICO—While on special duty at San Angel in November, 1847, I made the acquaintance of another American, by the name of Harris, who had resided in Mexico, as he told me, since 1821. He gave me two chestnuts of the most immense growth and dimensions I had ever dreamed of. I am led to mention this incident simply from the interesting tradition connected with the culture of his singular gift, as related to me by the donor, and the monopoly which was attached to its sale. As told to me, the cultivation of this nut is exclusively confined to the lands the title to which is in the name of the church of San Augustine in the city of Mexico. According to tradition, the nut was first introduced during the reign of Charles IV., by whom the right of its exclusive cultivation was conceded under a royal grant to the Jesuits. At the time the Jesuits were subsequently expelled from Mexico they transferred that exclusive right of cultivation, which they had obtained by such royal grant, to the church of San Augustine, which up to the date of the information remained in the full enjoyment of that monopoly. This chestnut culture is secured to that religious body by the most stringent legal and ecclesiastical enactments, which inflict the severest penalties upon all who transgress them; and all persons are prohibited from selling or offering the nuts for sale until they have been boiled, the object being to destroy the germ and thereby prevent their propagation. A Catholic priest in San Angel

assured me that the annual revenue derived by the church of San Augustine from their sale exceeded ten thousand dollars, and that their proper name was (*castaña real*) royal chestnut. The largest size were sold in Mexican currency at a price equivalent in our currency to twelve cents apiece, and the smaller at four cents. Mr. Harris related his experience to me in his attempting once to evade the law governing their sale. In 1833 he took from the city of Mexico to Chihuahua, where he was then residing, seven of the largest growth of those "royal chestnuts," which he had procured from a Mexican woman, who had undoubtedly stolen them, and which had not been boiled. Three of them he gave to a Mr. Thomas G. Boggs in Chihuahua, a brother Yankee, who planted them. When they had grown about three feet high, being accidentally discovered by a Catholic priest, he at once tore them up by the roots, and destroyed them. Boggs disclosed to the priest the facts as to where he had procured the nuts, who, instead of arresting him, had Harris at once taken into custody, arraigned before a court of competent jurisdiction, by which he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty dollars.—*Autobiography of Col. G. T. M. Davis, New York, 1891 (page 217).*

PETERSFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK—The university which was founded in 1784, and empowered to project schools and colleges in any part

of the state, has now four hundred and ten institutions under its charge. The regents have determined to observe May 1 of each year as University Day in each of these halls of learning, in order to acquaint the pupil and the general public with the history of the university. Secretary Melvil Dewey, in his letter to the presidents and principals of the institutions calling attention to the resolution of the board of regents, says: "It has often been cause of comment outside the state that many of its citizens know so little of one of its oldest and most honorable institutions. We this month received from the World's Fair held in Paris in 1889 the highest award conferred by the international jury, the grand prix, granted in recognition of the great merit of the peculiar system which federates all institutions of higher education into a single university of the state. Prominent French educators tell us that they very well know that the great Napoleon, when, as was his wont, he looked over the world to find the ideal system which he might appropriate for France, recognized it in the university of the state of New York, which had just begun its career, as planned by the transcendent creative genius of Alexander Hamilton; and we find to-day in the great university of France, which is a similar federation of the colleges of the entire republic, the result of Napoleon's wisdom in applying the New York idea.

Many intelligent New-Yorkers would be quite unable to answer clearly the inquiry of a foreigner as to what their university really is. Now that under the revised laws it has entered on a second century with greater powers and possi-

bilities for usefulness, it is doubly desirable that all those who attend the academies and colleges of the state should know something of this university to which they all belong. We propose, therefore, the observance of each May 1 as University Day, leaving to each institution to determine how it will recognize the anniversary. The least that could be done would be for the president or principal to take a few minutes in connection with the opening exercises to remind the students that it is University Day, to explain to them what the university is, and especially to make them understand how much it can do to advance higher education in the empire state if all our educated citizens co-operate in its beneficent work." The state library being an integral part of the university of the state of New York, Mr. Dewey has formulated a plan whereby institutions belonging to the university or their officers or accredited representatives, at a distance from Albany, may draw books from the library. Rules for the guidance of such as desire to avail themselves of the opportunity have been published.

---

AMERICAN HISTORY.—In his chapter on "American Character" in the ninth volume of his *History of the United States*, Henry Adams, writing of the period about 1817, says: "The scientific interest in American history centred in national character and in the workings of a society destined to become vast, in which individuals were important chiefly as types. Without heroes, the national character of the United States had few charms of imagination even to Americans. Historians and readers

maintained old-world standards. No historian cared to hasten the coming of an epoch when man should study his own history in the same spirit and by the same methods with which he studied the formation of a crystal. Yet history had its scientific as well as its human side, and in American history the scientific interest was greater than the human. Elsewhere the student could study under better conditions the evolution of the individual, but nowhere could he study so well the evolution of a race. The interest of such a subject exceeded that of any other branch of science, for it brought mankind within sight of its own end.

Whether the scientific or the heroic view were taken, in either case the starting-point was the same, and the chief object of interest was to define national character. Whether the figures of history were treated as heroes or as types, they must be taken to represent the people. American types were especially worth study if they were to represent the greatest democratic evolution the world could know. Readers might judge for themselves what share the individual possessed in creating or shaping the nation; but whether it was small or great, the nation could be understood only by studying the individual."

### QUERIES

THE TREE THE WOODMAN SPARED—Can any one inform me of the location where the tree stood made so famous in the immortal song, "Woodman, spare that tree," or has it been preserved until the present time? ELMER

THE BRAVEST MAN IN ENGLAND—Will some reader of the Magazine kindly inform me who received the bequest of £5,000 left to the "bravest man in England"? RALPH MORTON

UTICA, NEW YORK.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER VI—The Latin-American Department of the World's Columbian Exposition is very anxious to obtain information concerning a copy of a little quarto published in

Rome in 1493, containing the important bull of Pope Alexander VI., by which he divided the New World between Portugal and Spain.

Only two copies of this pamphlet are in existence, so far as can be ascertained. One is in the Royal Library at Munich. The other was sold in London, at auction, by Puttick and Simpson, auctioneers, on the 24th of May, 1854, and was bought by Obadiah Rich for four pounds eight shillings, for some private library in the United States which he declined to name. It has entirely disappeared from the knowledge of bibliophiles, and no trace of it can be found. Any person having knowledge of the whereabouts of this historical treasure will be kind enough to notify the Department of State, Washington, D. C.



## REPLIES

REV. JOSEPH HANMER [xxv. 420]—The statement that Rev. Joseph Hanmer was chaplain to the British forces in New Brunswick was founded on the following entry in the papers of the Ludlow family of New York city: "Easter Monday, being the 5th of April, 1697, Mr. Gabriel Ludlow was married to Mrs. Sarah Hanmer, one of the daughters of the Rev. Joseph Hanmer, doctor of divinity, deceased, and chaplain to his majesty's forces in the province of New Brunswick in America, by the Rev. Mr. Symon Smith, chaplain of the said forces, between the hours of 10 and 11 of the clock in the morning."

This entry is very ancient and was evidently made in good faith. It is, however, probably an error. Sarah Hanmer was the daughter of *Doctor* Joseph Hanmer. (See petition to Governor Slaughter in 1691, vol. 37, f. 33, N. Y. Col. MSS. by Sarah Hanmer and others, reciting that petitioners were orphans of *Doctor* Hanmer, deceased.) (See also order on petition N. Y. Council Min., vol. 6, p. 13.)

Sarah Hanmer, daughter of this *Doctor* Hanmer, married Gabriel Ludlow on April 5, 1697. (See New York marriage licenses.) There is some doubt as to whether *Doctor* Hanmer was a doctor of divinity, as the petition omits the prefix "reverend," but still ancient tradition has it that he was, and until proof to the contrary it is presumptive evidence.

HISTORICUS

RAPHAEL'S PAINTING [xxv. 339]—In 1753 the elector of Saxony, Augustus

III., bought the celebrated "Madonna di San Sisto" from the monks of the convent of St. Sixtus at Placentia for about eight thousand pounds for the Dresden gallery, the sellers reserving the right to have a copy of the picture remain in the place of the original. When it was carried to the throne-room of the king's palace, the bearers hesitated about putting it in the best light, as the most favorable place was exactly where the throne stood. The king perceiving this hastily drew aside the throne-chair, exclaiming, "Make room for the immortal Raphael!"

This masterpiece was painted in 1518, with Pope Sixtus and St. Barbara on either side of the Madonna, and the two cherubs, called "Raphael's afterthoughts," below.

MARY LANSING

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

THE SLEEPING SENTINEL [xxv. 405]—In the May number of this magazine is given among Mr. Chittenden's "Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration" an interesting version of the incident which gave birth to Janvier's *Sleeping Sentinel*, the most pathetic poem of the late war. William Scott, a mere boy of the Third Vermont Regiment, who had volunteered to do picket duty for a sick comrade, was found asleep on post; he was arrested, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to an ignominious death. While sitting blindfolded upon his rude coffin, awaiting the fatal volley, President Lincoln, in a coach drawn by four horses, reached the place of execu-

tion. Scott was pardoned, and joy prevailed among the host assembled to witness his shame, death, and burial.

In April, 1862, following, this same Scott was one of the small band of brave men of the Third and Fourth Vermont Regiments who volunteered to cross Warwick creek in Virginia and attack the confederate position near Lee's Mills. While the small Union force was engaged with a strongly posted brigade of the enemy, which had been driven from its first line of earthworks, the confederates opened the flood-gates at the mills just above, causing so much of a rise in the creek that the promised reinforcements near at hand could not be crossed over to their assistance, and the four companies of gallant Vermonters were left to their fate. After the lapse of an hour, finding themselves without ammunition and in infinite danger of annihilation or capture, the heroic Vermonters beat a retreat, only to find themselves cut off by the raging flood of water between them and the Union force on the opposite bank. The confederates, elated with their success, advanced upon the fugitives, pouring into their thinned numbers volley after volley of remorseless leaden bullets as they plunged into the seething waters to seek safety.

There were many acts of heroism on this terrible retreat, but none more brilliant than those performed by Julian Scott, at that time a drummer-boy in the Third Vermont Regiment, who saved the lives of eleven comrades by rescuing them from watery graves. Despite the murderous fire, he repeatedly plunged into the stream and brought helpless comrades to the shore. Among those

thus rescued by him was William Scott, whose life had been spared by the "Nation's President" a few months before. While struggling in the foaming flood he had received a mortal wound, and became utterly helpless. But even this did not deter Julian Scott, who was also grievously wounded, from rushing to his assistance and bearing his inanimate form to a place of comparative safety, to the side of his comrades, where, however, he immediately yielded up his brave spirit, his last words being, "God bless our President!"

Julian Scott, who so greatly distinguished himself on this occasion and who received a medal of honor from congress for his bravery, is the famous battle painter now residing in Plainfield, New Jersey.

J. MADISON DRAKE

THE FIRST WHITE FEMALE CHILD BORN IN NEW YORK [xxv. 421]—The *New York Evening Post* of August 20, 1888, contained the following paragraph: "The descendants of Lion Gardiner have been numerous and many of them eminent citizens. Two of his children were born in Saybrook, and his daughter Elizabeth, September 14, 1641, on Gardiner's island. She is said to have been the first English child born within the present bounds of the state of New York. Their mother was a Dutch lady of respectability in Holland. The daughter just mentioned married a Conkling, who was an ancestor of many old Long Islanders of that name, one of whom was United States senator Roscoe Conkling, etc., etc." This accounts for the confusion of names indicated by Minto.

LEX

## SOCIETIES

**NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY**—At the stated meeting for May, held on the evening of the 5th instant, the Hon. John A. King presiding, the Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D., read the paper of the evening, entitled "The Genesis of English Society in New York," to a large and appreciative audience. The doctor described the influence of the English element among the Dutch from the settlement to the surrender in 1664, particularly in regard to society, commerce, religious freedom, and the poor laws.

**THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY** held its quarterly meeting April 22, Vice-president Gen. Alexander C. McClurg in the chair. Interesting reports from the secretary and the librarian were presented, showing many generous gifts of bound volumes and pamphlets and relics. Gen. A. L. Chetlain was then introduced, and read a paper entitled "Personal Recollections of Gen. U. S. Grant, 1861-3." It consisted in giving an absorbingly interesting account of General Grant's first visit from Galena to Springfield at the outbreak of the late civil war, and of his efforts to secure a proper recognition from the authorities, as well as glimpses of his subsequent career up to 1863. On motion, the warm thanks of the society were tendered to General Chetlain for his valuable historic paper, and he was requested to deposit a copy of the same among the archives of the society.

**THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY** at its April meeting elected the following officers for ensuing year: Hon. J. L. Angle, president; Gilman H. Perkins, vice-president; Jane Marsh Parker, corresponding secretary; Hon. William F. Peck, recording secretary; Charles H. Wiltsie, treasurer; Howard L. Osgood, librarian. The paper of the evening was read by Professor Fairchild, entitled "The Geology of the Genesee Region."

**THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY** at its annual meeting in the early part of the present year elected the following officers: President, Hon. C. W. Hutchinson; first vice-president, Henry Hurlburt; second vice-president, George D. Dimon; third vice-president, Hon. D. E. Wager; secretary, Rees G. Williams; corresponding secretary, Gen. C. W. Darling; librarian, Dr. M. M. Bagg; treasurer, Warren C. Rowley; counselors, Rev. D. W. Bigelow, W. Stuart Walcott; executive committee, Alexander Seward, Daniel Batchelor, George C. Sawyer, B. G. Beach, N. Curtis White. The annual address was delivered by Prof. B. S. Terry; his subject being, "The Making of a Constitution," in which he presented in half an hour what could only be obtained after weeks of study and scientific comparison of men and events. It was a most interesting discourse, and received with marked favor by an appreciative audience.

## BOOK NOTICES

APPENDICULÆ HISTORICÆ; OR, SHREDS OF HISTORY HUNG ON A HORN. By FRED W. LUCAS. Royal 4to, pp. 216. Printed for the author, and sold by Henry Stevens and Son. London, England. 1891.

The explanation of the above title lies in the fact that a curious old powder-horn is in possession of the author, upon which is engraved a map embracing the greater part of the site of the modern state of New York and a small portion of what is now Canada. The map is not dated, but appears to have been made during the old French war, prior to 1760. Taking this map as his text, the author has endeavored to show how England and France came into collision on this soil, where and how they fought, and with what results. The horn is fourteen inches long, and considerable ingenuity is exhibited in the condensation of the map upon it. The opening chapter of the volume is entitled, "Discovery and Exploration in America to the end of the Sixteenth Century," and while it contains nothing of importance that is new to scholars, it is very concisely and cleverly written. The text is followed by instructive notes and references, and the work is uniquely illustrated with several interesting maps and plates, notably "The Siege of Quebec," made for the Right Honorable William Pitt, Esq. "The Mouth of the Hudson River" from Sandy Hook to the city, in colors, and topographical maps of the Hudson river, and vicinity to Albany, of the country from Albany to Oswego, and a "Particular Survey of the Isles of Montreal." The author describes the diplomatic contest between the English and the French for the alliance of the Indians, especially the famous Five Nations, and the Delawares and Shawanoes. These warriors were very shrewd, and quite unwilling to join any but the winning side in the contest. All sorts of promises and bribes and falsehoods and flattery were resorted to on both sides. Mr. Lucas describes Niagara, Ticonderoga, Quebec, and Montreal, and the Treaty of Paris in 1763. His sketch of Montcalm is summed up in these few words: "He was a man of noble character, scholarly, pious, and honorable, a soldier from his youth up, happily married and the father of ten children, with an intense affection for his family and love of the peaceful duties of a country life, and the domestic repose of his chateau of Candiac. Appointed to command in Canada, he left all that he cared for with reluctance, but, like a true soldier, without hesitation, to encounter the dangers and hardships of a cam-

paign in the backwoods. The Chevalier de Lévis was his second in command, and Bougainville, afterward renowned as a navigator, was one of his aids." The book is handsomely printed in large clear type on choice paper, with broad margins, exceedingly pleasing to the eye.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph.D., LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 327, 404. Ginn & Company, Boston, U. S. A., and London. 1890.

The work before us is an important contribution to political science, important because treated comparatively and after the historical method now much employed in scientific discussion. It begins with definitions, or with what corresponds to definitions, analysis and application of certain leading concepts to certain definite political entities. The author regards the leading nations first as distributed in certain territories which possess natural barriers or boundaries, and next in reference to their origin and linguistic affinities, qualities which impel individuals toward national unity. These do not always coincide with actual divisions, but they possess great potentiality. There is a short excursus upon "national political character," which does not profess to be adequate, but it justifies the conclusion that the modern state is in the main the creation of Teutonic political genius. The author's conclusions of practical politics will meet an unqualified assent in some quarters. He says that "a state is not only following a sound public policy, but one which is ethnically obligatory upon it when it protects its nationality against the deleterious influences of foreign immigration." Yet it is obvious that this statement has slight reference to a state which has a very diversified origin, and the author himself modifies it at the point only where immigration tends to subdue the dominating elements of national life.

The book (II.) on the state is comprehensive of the idea, the origin, the forms, and the ends of such political aspirations, and leads naturally to the greater theme, the constitutions of the leading political *imperia* of the world, Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France. Book III. on the formation of these constitutions contains some novelties, particularly in regard to the constitution of Great Britain, which may not meet with universal assent. But the reasons assigned for them are so philosophic that they will command attention. The formation of the constitution of the German empire is given with great precision,



and with a wealth of learning unusual in English accounts. The author's wide knowledge of German authorities is made obvious even in the account of the French constitution by citations of German authorities. No country is so rich in constitutional law as the United States, and the author's conciseness while treating the formation of the federal Constitution is not a demerit. With part two, the comparative and philosophic feature of this work begins. This is, of course, the most valuable part of the treatise, for it is only by comparison that constitutional law may be reduced to a science. It then has a certain likeness to the *jus gentium* in that the fundamentals of constitutional law are laid bare, and we discover how far all civilized nations have guaranteed the rights of their citizens and their own relations to them. The chapters on sovereignty of the various states treated of, as might be expected in a scholar of German training, are independent of the views which Austin, the great English jurist, made so peculiarly his own, and seem rather to relate to organization than to the seat of governmental power.

Another valuable portion of the work are the chapters on individual liberty. After all, the great test of good government is the amount of individual liberty consistent with the well-being of the government itself. The amount of real learning necessary to treat so vast a subject comparatively is far more than that usually allotted to a single jurist, but the author has shown himself to be a profound scholar of unusual attainment, and his work is one of great value to the statesman and the student of institutions. In the writings of Lieber and now in those of Professor Burgess, Columbia college has found and will for some time find its title to fame as a university of high standing. Few books of any country have treated the great departments of government, the executive, legislative, and judicial, by the comparative method, and perhaps none so thoroughly as in the present work. We are sorry the author has prefixed no table of cases to his great work, and also sorry that the authorities cited by him are not fully indexed. The texts of the various constitutions of the governments described are printed *in extenso* at the end of the first volume, which enables a ready cross-reference.

On the whole, no more ambitious contribution to the literature of a great subject has yet issued from this country, and we feel certain that it will receive commendation from eminent scholars both here and abroad.

**MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.** Vols. XV. and XVI. 8vo, pp. 751, 746. Published by the society. Lansing, Michigan. 1889, 1890.

The continuations of this admirable series of publications give evidence of the same care and ability in the selection and presentation of choice material for permanent preservation, which has characterized their predecessors. In the fifteenth volume the official reports and correspondence are given of the British officers in command on the Canadian frontier and in Michigan during two years of the memorable war of 1812; while the sixteenth volume brings the story down to the final evacuation, by the British, of the soil of Michigan. Many of these papers have been copied from the file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, Canada. Even for the general reader such letters and reports have great interest, as showing the inner causes which tended to the final result, and for the historical student they are valuable beyond expression. We have here the story also from a new point of view of General Hull's surrender of Detroit. The importance of the island of Mackinac as a strategic point is demonstrated in the most vivid manner, while the methods of the British in dealing with and cajoling the Indians into their support are forcibly illustrated.

**THE OLD NAVY AND THE NEW.** By REAR-ADMIRAL DANIEL AMMEN, U. S. N. With an appendix of personal letters from General Grant. 8vo, pp. 553. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1891.

These personal reminiscences of events of naval life, during a long period of prominent service, are exceedingly interesting and instructive to the reader of to-day. The author was born in 1820, and became a midshipman in 1836. His childhood home was on the Ohio river, alongside that of General Grant, who was two years younger than himself. The two boys were constant playmates, in the habit of fishing, swimming, and riding together. The experiences and observations of the young midshipman on the coast of Labrador, in the Wilkes exploring expedition in the Mediterranean, in an East India squadron, and on coast-survey duty are narrated with much force in these pages. In October, 1843, he joined the store-ship *Lexington*, at the New York navy yard, in the capacity of acting master, with the duties of watch-officer and navigator, and sailed to Port Mahon, a haven of rest in the Mediterranean, known to seamen for centuries, stopping at Gibraltar on his homeward voyage, where he obtained a view from the top of the famous rock. His next cruise of importance was to China and Japan on the sloop of war *Vincennes*, the object of the expedition being to induce, if possible, the governments to enter into commercial relations with the United States. In describing Canton the admiral says: "I saw a man with great, round



spectacles sitting in the market; before him were the two heads and four legs and outer pinions of a pair of ducks, and in a bamboo basket a pair of cats. . . . As shopkeepers the Chinese surpass all others. At the time of my visit they charged persons like myself all they could get—that is to say, two or three times the ordinary price."

In the spring of 1848 Ammen was ordered to the surveying-steamers *Bibb*, engaged in sounding the Nantucket shoals and adjacent waters. In 1849 he was attached to a commission to select a naval station on the Pacific coast; he was on the steam frigate *Merimac* in 1859, and in 1861, at the outbreak of the civil war, he was the executive officer of the North Atlantic blockading squadron.

One of the most thrilling chapters of the work relates to the attempted mutiny, when he was dispatched in 1864 to the Pacific in command of two hundred seamen, as passengers on board of a California steamer. Two days out from New York he vigorously suppressed a well-organized effort to seize the vessel, killing the two leaders instantly. The admiral became familiar with nearly all the waters and countries of the world in his varied services. In 1872 he was a member of the commission appointed by the President to examine into the Nicaragua canal question, which reported favorably. No action, however, was taken for some years, as it was a question beset with many difficulties. The book is brightened with anecdotes, and graphic descriptions of people and places, and the letters of General Grant in the appendix add greatly to its permanent value.

**THE AMERICAN RAILWAY.** Its Construction, Development, Management, and Appliances. With an introduction by THOMAS M. COOLEY. More than 200 illustrations. Royal 8vo, pp. 456. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This handsomely printed work consists of a series of papers from writers of well-known ability, prepared at the request of the editor, and published originally in *Scribner's Magazine*. The extraordinary public interest in them has been constant and increasing, and the demand so urgent that they have now been collected into this volume with expansions and additions for permanent use and convenient reference. Each particular topic is treated in every case by an expert, as, for instance, "Statistical Railway Studies," by Fletcher W. Hewes; "The Railway in its Business Relations," by Professor Arthur T. Hadley; "The Prevention of Railway Strikes,"

by Charles Francis Adams; "The Railway Mail Service," by ex-Postmaster Thomas L. James; "The Freight Car Service," by Theodore Voorhees, and "Railway Management," by General E. P. Alexander. The book has inspired an elaborate article in another part of this magazine, touching chiefly the evolution of the modern railroad. The illustrations are very helpful to the student, particularly the numerous maps near the end of the work, showing in colors the situation of the railroad traffic of the United States. Mr. Hewes says, in relation to the capital invested: "It is folly for the human mind to attempt to grasp the immensity of the financial interest expressed in the statement that the combined capital invested in the railways of the United States is \$9,369,398,954. No more can it comprehend that this vast aggregate has been the growth of about fifty years in a single interest, in a single country."

#### HISTORY OF THE SECOND ARMY

CORPS, In the Army of the Potomac. By FRANCIS A. WALKER, Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. Volunteers. With portraits and maps. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 737. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

The Second Army Corps was one of the five original corps organized by President Lincoln in March, 1862, and maintained its existence unbroken until the conclusion of peace in May, 1865. With its history was interwoven nearly all the principal events of the civil war in the East. It captured forty-four Confederate flags before it lost a color. Its whole record was one of valor. The first edition of this volume was given an extended review in these pages in April, 1887, soon after it was issued. The author served as chief-of-staff in the notable organization, and his terse, forcible, and flowing style of narration, together with his familiarity with its history, rendered his work particularly acceptable. In this second edition some corrections have been made, and some previous statements affecting the character of individual officers modified. We predicted in our former review that General Walker's opinions in some instances would be controverted, but that his words would command respectful attention, even among the dissenters, and where his adverse criticisms fell with greatest severity. He has listened, we find, with respectful deference to his critics, and wherever he has been convinced of an error has aimed, in his revision, to do ample justice. The story never flags in interest, and the book is destined to take a permanent place in military literature.

# INDEX

- ABBOTT, W.**, the Mother Goose melodies, 180; the hunters of Kentucky, a song, 244.
- Adams, Charles Francis**, biography of Richard Henry Dana, noticed, 95.
- Adkins, Milton S.**, the Bladensburg dueling ground, 18.
- Africa**, university in, 91.
- African slaves at Jamestown, Va.**, 1601, 448.
- Agamenticus, Me.**, the division of the twelve thousand acres at, 257.
- Alaska**, Yellowstone Park to, noticed, 95.
- Alaska treaty**, group of portraits of the signers of the, 367.
- Albany, N. Y.**, first white child born in, 421.
- Alderman, L. A.**, origin of the word Yankee, 256.
- Aldrich, Charles**, the eloquence of Andrew Johnson, 47; an early West Pointer, 371.
- Alexander VI.**, bull of Pope, 1493, 506.
- Alexander, William**, services of, in the Revolution, 182.
- Alexandria, Egypt**, university, 91.
- Allen, Horatio**, improvements in locomotives, 438, 440.
- Ammen, Admiral Daniel**, the old navy and the new, noticed, 512.
- America**, first iron works in, 150; first historical society, 251; discovered by the Northmen, 257; the colonies of, 1492-1750, noticed, 265; the first European attempt to colonize, 375; first newspaper, 423; the first ship-building in, 392; first African slaves in, 448; view of first locomotive, 438.
- American history**, the importance of culture in, 93; the demand for education in, 99; a lost chapter in, 375.
- American Historical Association**, seventh annual meeting, thirty-two papers read, inaugural address of John Jay, election of officers, 181.
- American literature**, philosophy of, noticed, 384, 267.
- American Revolution**, the French army in the Revolutionary war, Count De Fersen's private letters to his father, 1780-1, 55, 156; German troops in the, 56; defeat of Gen. Gates in S. C., 60; helplessness of the French troops to aid, 61; scarcity of money, 61; Washington's conference with Rochambeau, 62; Arnold's treason, 63; arrest of Maj. André, 63; escape of Gen. Arnold, 63; Gen. Green succeeds Gates, 64, 65; execution of André, 65; army in winter quarters, 66; attack on Staten Island, 66; defeat of the British in South Carolina, 67; Washington disagrees with Rochambeau, 70; Washington's aides-de-camp, 89, 248, 256; siege of Yorktown, Va., 162; Washington confers with Rochambeau, 167; burning of Falmouth, Me., 1775, 182; N. J. flotilla men, 182; services of Col. Dayton and William Alexander, 182; capture of the armed ship *Eagle* and storeship *Katy*, 182; letters by German officers relating to the, 254; the story of James Willing, an episode of the, 342; the French in the, 419; letters of William Manning, 1775, to John Laurens, respecting the, 459.
- Americanisms**, political, noticed, 183.
- André, Maj. John**, arrested as a spy, 63; executed, 65.
- Antes family**, ancestry of, 180, 340.
- Argyll, Duke of**, letters of, and others, to Cyrus W. Field, on the latter's celebration of his golden wedding, Dec., 1890.
- Arithmetic**, introduction of, in the colonial schools, 254.
- Armitage, Jane**, applies for license to keep a tavern in Lynn, Mass., 155.
- Arnold, Gen. Benedict**, treason of, 63; plan for the capture of, 156.
- Art Dictionary**, noticed, 427.
- BALTIMORE U. S. man-of-war** conveys remains of Capt. John Ericsson to Sweden, 1, 2.
- Baltimore and Ohio railroad**, first locomotive used on the, 1830, 437; view of the, 438.
- Bancroft, George**, an hour with, 227; a sonnet, 232; the portraits of, 260; his funeral, 260.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe**, the historian's first book, some experiences of, 201; literary industries, noticed, 265.
- Banyer, A. D.**, the oldest of the arts, 89.
- Barron, Commodore James**, duel with Commodore Decatur, 27; his services, 28; death of, 32.
- Barrow, John**, killed in the slave insurrection, Va., 1831, 454.
- Battle of nations**, 91.
- Bausman family**, ancestry of, 180, 340.
- Bausman, J. L.**, the Antes, Bausman, and Belthoover families of Pa., 340.
- Baxter, James Phinney**, Isaac Jogues, a poem, 77.
- Beck, Dr. Carl**, sketch of, 471.
- Beekman family**, carriage, 126.
- Belden, Bauman L.**, capital punishment in 1740, 85.
- Belknap, Rev. Jeremy**, founder of the Mass. Historical Society, 251.
- Bellows, Albert F.**, his painting, The Three Eras of Woman's Life, 255.
- Belthoover family**, ancestry of, 180, 340.
- Benson, Col. Robert**, his services, 249.
- Berkeley County, Va.**, bill for execution and branding of negroes, 1740, 86.
- Berkeley, John**, one of the first lords proprietors of N. J., 93, 259.
- Bladensburg dueling ground**, 18; view of the George Washington house, 19; view of old mill near the battle ground, 21; sketch of the turnpike to Baltimore, 23; view of the dueling ground, 25.
- Blount, Samuel**, his house in Va. attacked by negro slaves, 1831, 453.
- Book Notices**, *January*.—Jefferson's views on public education, by John C. Henderson, 24; transactions of the Kansas Historical Society, vol. iv., 94; Breton's life of an artist, 94; Adams's biography of Richard Henry Dana, 95; Sessions's Yellowstone Park to Alaska, 95; social life in Russia, 96; Rosengarten's German soldier in the wars of the U. S., 96.
- February*.—Norton's political Americanisms, 183; Golden's English drama, 183; Brinton's races and people, 183; Gaspé's Canadians of old, 183; Symes's prelude to modern history, 183; Ellwanger's story of my house, 184; White's philosophy of American literature, 184; Tourgée's Murvale Eastman, a novel, 184.
- March*.—Bancroft's literary industries, 265; Thwaites's colonies, 1492-1750, 265; Dodge's Washington Bible class, 265; Roosevelt's New York, 266; Murray's life of Francis Wayland, 266; Norton's Florida, 266; MacLay's journal, 267; White's American literature, 267; Brown's genesis of the U. S., 268.
- April*.—Condit's Easton, Pa., 345; Graham's socialism, 345; Holland society of N. Y. year book, 266; Kearny's the vikings in western Christendom, 247; Meginnese's biography of Francis Slocum, 347; Bourinot's Canadian studies, 348; Finck's Pacific coast, 348.
- May*.—Spencer's plea for liberty, 426; Chittenden's recollections of President Lincoln and his administration, 426; Stillé's life and times of John Dickinson, 427; Adeline's art dictionary, 427; Dodge's Hannibal, 428; Grisby's Va. convention of 1788, vol. II., 428.
- June*.—Lucas's shreds of history, 510; Burgess's political science and constitutional law, 510; Michigan historical collections, vols. xv. and xvi., 511; Ammen's

- old navy and the new, 511; American railway, 512; Walker's second army corps, 512.
- Books, some old, rare, 463.
- Bosworth, Sala, biographical sketch of, 176.
- Bourinot, John G., Canadian studies in comparative politics, noticed, 348.
- Brant, Joseph, Mohawk chief, a slave holder, 237.
- Braun, Dr. Oscar, distinguished Germans in American affairs, 469.
- Breton, Jules, life of an artist, noticed, 94.
- Brentano, Lorenzo, sketch of, 487.
- Bridges, Capt. Robert, founder of the first iron works in America, 150; his services, 151; character of, 155.
- Brinton, Daniel G., races and peoples, noticed, 183.
- British merchants in 1775, 459.
- Broome, Lieut. James, his death in the engagement between the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake* and the British frigate *Shannon*, 269, 273.
- Brown, Alexander, the genesis of the U. S. noticed, 268.
- Bryant, Henry, and family, victims of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.
- Bryant, William Cul'n, letter to his mother, 1821, announcing his marriage, 178.
- Budd, Lieut. George, letter to the secretary of navy, June 15, 1813, on the capture of the frigate *Chesapeake*, 414.
- Buitz, Caspar, sketch of, 478.
- Byers, S. H. M., the ballad of Columbus, 203.
- Byron, Lord, Sir Walter Scott's opinion of, 501.
- C**AIRO, Egypt, university, 91.
- California, documents of, 394; Gen. Castro's proclamation, 1846, 396; Echeandia's Spanish land memorandum, 1830, 396; register of emigrants, 1822, 397; Gov. Alvarado's letter to Commodore Jones, Nov. 12, 1842; petition to congress of the landholders of, Feb. 21, 1859, 399.
- Callender, James S., opposes the administration of Washington, 318; character of, 322.
- Caloric engine, invented, 1833, 11.
- Campbell, Levin H., power to grant patents for inventions, proceedings of the framers of the Constitution, 323.
- Campbell, Col. Samuel, aid to Gov. Clinton, 249.
- Canada, slavery in, 233; Canadians of old, a romance, noticed, 183; Canadian studies in comparative politics, noticed, 348.
- Canadairgu lake, the legend of, 344.
- Cape Breton, early voyages to, 382, 388.
- Capital punishment, bill for execution of negroes, 1740, 86.
- Caracas, Venezuela, university and colleges of, 91.
- Caramon, Count, serves with Rochambeau in the Revolution, 55.
- Carriages, the antiquity of, 120; view of war-chariot, 120; of the viceroys of Egypt, 121; coach of Henry IV., 122; the improved coach, 122; "chare" of the 17th century, 123; one-horse "shay," 123; state carriage of Queen Elizabeth, 124; old English moving-wagon, 125; the Beckman carriage, N. Y., 126.
- Carteret, George, one of the first lords proprietors of N. J., 93, 259.
- Case, Admiral Augustus Ludlow, his services, 280.
- Castine, Me., story of an old American town, 342.
- Catlin, George, the far west in 1832, 86.
- Chamberlain, John Dresser, origin of the word Yankee, 256.
- Chapman, L. B., biographical sketch of Maj. A. T. Dole, 257.
- Charleston, S. C., negro plot, 1822, 449.
- Chastellux, Marquis de, serves with Rochambeau in the Revolution, 57, 61.
- Chauncey, Capt. Isaac, U. S. navy, letter to Capt. Ludlow, May 18, 1813, 281.
- Chenoweth, James Q., auditor of U. S. treasury, 76.
- Cherry Valley, N. Y., the massacre of, 259.
- Chesapeake*, the engagement between the U. S. frigate and the British frigate *Shannon*, 269, 414; with the British frigate *Leopard*, 413.
- Chicago Historical Society, January meeting, paper on James Willing, an episode of the Revolution, by Edward G. Mason, 342; April meeting, paper on personal recollections of Gen. Grant, by Gen. A. L. Chetlain, 510.
- Chittenden, L. E., President Lincoln and the sleeping sentinel, 405; recollections of President Lincoln, noticed, 427.
- Cilley, Jonathan, his duel with William J. Graves, 32, 108, 330.
- Clark, A. Howard, original will of Lieut.-Col. John Washington, 174.
- Clark, John C., auditor U. S. treasury, 76.
- Clason, A. W., the Pennsylvania convention of 1788, 215.
- Clay, Henry, his duel with John Randolph, 32.
- Clinton, DeWitt, a missing portrait of, 420.
- Clinton, Gov. George, meets Washington at Tarrytown, N. Y., 248; his services, 249.
- Cobb, Col. David, aid to Washington, 248.
- Coley, Rev. James E., slavery in Conn., 490.
- Collins, William, auditor U. S. treasury, 76.
- Colman, John, the death of, September 6, 1609, a poem, 493.
- Colorado, gold discovered in, 489.
- Colorado Midland Railroad, view of tunnel on the, 443.
- Columbus, Christopher, the first voyage of, 92; view of the painting at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, 269; ballad of, 293; portrait, 429.
- Condit, Rev. Usal W., history of Easton, Pa., noticed, 345.
- Connecticut, slavery in, 490; advertisement of runaway slave from, 1813, 492.
- Cooper, Peter, locomotive engine invented by, used on Baltimore railroad, 1830, 437.
- Cortereal, Gaspar, voyages of, 1500-02, 376, 377, 381.
- Couchoven, Edward, Washington at tavern of, 248, 249.
- Crane, Col. William, captures armed ship *Eagle* and storeship *Katy*, 182.
- Croatian, N. C., early settlements at, 130; origin of the name, 130; Indians of, 132, 134, 136, 137, 139.
- Cromwell, Oliver, his attempt to have families from New England settle in Ireland, 419.
- Cross, Rev. R. T., Pike's exploration of Louisiana, 1806, 140; results of keeping a secret, an incident of the discovery of gold in Colorado, 489.
- Cromwell, Harry, trial for libel on Jefferson, 316, 320; biographical sketch of, 322.
- Curtis, Edward, Raphael's painting, 339.
- D**ANA, Richard Henry, biography of, noticed, 95.
- Darien Canal Treaty, group of portraits of the signers of, 369.
- Dayton, Col. Elias, services of, 182.
- Decatur, Commodore Stephen, his duel with Commodore Barron, 27; his services, 27; death of, 31.
- Delaware and Hudson Canal company, imports locomotives from England for the use of their railroad, 1829, 437.
- Deliverance*, the pinnace, built, 1611, 392.
- Dickinson, John, life and times of, noticed, 427.
- Dodge, Mary A., a Washington Bible-class, noticed, 265.
- Dodge, Theodore A., history of the art of war, noticed, 428.
- Dole, Maj. A. S., biographical sketch of, 257.
- Doyal, Trajan, killed in the slave insurrection, Va., 1831, 454.
- Drake, J. Madison, the Union prisoners of war at Macon, Ga., 1864, 85; the sleeping sentinel, 507.
- Drury, Edward, killed in the slave insurrection, Va., 1831, 454.
- Duels, number of, at Bladensburg, Md., 24, 108.
- E**ASTON, Pa., history of, noticed, 345.
- Eaton, Rev. Arthur W., English garrison life in Halifax, N. S., 424.
- Egypt, university in, 91; war-chariot of the Pharaohs, 120; carriage of the Viceroy of, 121.
- Elizabeth queen of England, view of state carriage, 124; the cipher of, 339.
- Ellet, Mrs. E. F., the fate of a Pa. coquette, 327.
- Ellwanger, George, story of my house, noticed, 184.
- Emancipation Proclamation, group of portraits, 265.
- England, the bequest to the bravest man in, 506.
- English Drama, noticed, 183.
- Ericson, Baron Nils, portrait, 17.
- Ericson, John, portrait, 1, 9; public funeral of, 1; view of his residence in N. Y. city, 3; birth-place

- and family, 5; his skill as a draughtsman, 6; second engraving drawn by, 1821, 7; personal appearance in 1830, 8; his inventions, 9; builds the locomotive engine "Novelty," 10; view of the locomotive "Novelty" with coaches, 1829, 11; introduces the caloric engine, 12; invents the screw propeller, 11; builds steam vessel and iron screw steamer, 11; designs the *Monitor*, 12; fac-simile of his original pencil drawing of the *Monitor*, 1854, completion of the *Monitor*, 13; war vessels designed by, 14; designs the *Destroyer*, 16; characteristics of, 16; honors conferred on, 16.
- Essex County, Mass., emigration from, to Nova Scotia, 1763-64, 118.
- Estey, Richard, and wife, emigrate from Mass. to Nova Scotia, 1763-64, 118.
- FAGUNDEY**, John Alvarez, early voyages of, 382, 377.
- Falmouth, Me., the burning of, 1775, 182.
- Ferguson, Maj. James, defeated in S. C., 1780, 67.
- Fernandez, John, voyage of, 1499, 376.
- Fersen, Count Jean Axel de, Aid-de-camp of Gen. Rochambeau, sketch of, 55; private letters to his father, 1780-81, 55, 156.
- Field, Cyrus W., letter of congratulation on his golden wedding, 175; his reply, 176.
- Finck, Henry S., the Pacific coast scenic tour, noticed, 348.
- Fisher, George P., auditor of U. S. treasury, 76.
- Florida, handbook of, noticed, 266.
- Folsom, A. A., the burning of the steamer *Lexington*, 341.
- Follen, Charles, sketch of, 470.
- Fort Richmond, on the Kennebec, 92.
- Fowler, Robert Ludlow, the "Chesapeake" and Lieutenant Ludlow, 269.
- Francis, Salthiel, killed in the slave insurrection, Va., 1831, 454.
- French Army in the Revolutionary war, 1780-81, 55, 156.
- Freneau, Philip, opposes the administration of Washington, 318.
- Frontenac, Count de, governor of Canada, the first administration of, 343.
- Frost, Thomas, the death of Colman, Sept. 6, 1829, a poem, 493.
- Fulton, A. K., some old rare books, 463.
- Fulton, Robert, inventor of the steamboat, 430.
- G**ARAY, Blascode, applies the use of steam to move vessels, 1543, 430.
- Gardiner, Sarah, first white child born in N. Y., her marriage, 392, 421, 507.
- Gaspe, Philip A. de, Canadians of old, noticed, 183.
- Georgetown, S. C., early ship-building, 393.
- German troops in the American Revolution, 56; in the wars of the U. S., noticed, 96; letters of, 254.
- Golden, William E., history of the English drama, noticed, 183.
- Goode, G. Brown, the first American ship, 392.
- Göta Canal Company, view of the headquarters of the, 5.
- Gouvion, Gen. Jean Baptiste, aid to Lafayette, 62.
- Graham, Major John, aid to Washington, 256.
- Graham, William, socialism, new and old, noticed, 345.
- Grant, Gen. U. S., letter to Gen. Sherman, 334.
- Graves, William J., his duel with Jonathan Cilley, 12, 108, 339.
- Green, H. E., the Pickering manuscripts, 143.
- Green, Thomas Marshall, the Spanish conspiracy, noticed, 512.
- Grisby, Hugh B., history of the Va. convention of 1788, noticed, 428.
- H**AINES, Ferguson, Pope, author of quotation "to err is human," 91.
- Halifax, N. S., English garrison life in, 424.
- Hall, Lyman, governor of Ga., and signer of the Declaration of Independence, biographical sketch of, 35.
- Hallam, Orrin B., the original treasurer accounting office, 71.
- Hamilton, Alexander, letter to Miss Schuyler, 1780, 335.
- Hamilton, J. C., slavery in Canada, 233.
- Hammer, Rev. Joseph, the profession of, 200, 430, 507.
- Hannibal, history of the art of war, noticed, 428.
- Harrison, Richard, auditor U. S. treasury, 76.
- Hartley, Rev. Isaac S., Gen. Francis E. Spinner, the financier, 185.
- Hatteras Indians, their origin, 132, 134, 136; loyal to the whites, 132, 136; services of, in the Revolution, war of 1812, and war of 1861, 133; population, religion, and habits, 133; traditions, 137; character and disposition, 138; language and family names, 138.
- Hawkes, Nathan M., Capt. Robert Bridges, founder of the first iron works in America, 150.
- Hayden, Horace Edwin, the painting "the three eras of woman's life," by Albert F. Bellows, 255.
- Henderson, John C., Thomas Jefferson's views on public administration, noticed, 94.
- Henry IV., coach of, 122.
- Henry, William Wirt, a defense of Capt. John Smith, 300.
- Herkimer, Gen. Nicholas, proposed removal of the remains of, 425.
- Holland Society, N. Y., year book, noticed, 346.
- Holmes, Georgine, the French army in the Revolutionary war, Count de Fersen's private letters to his father, 1780-81, translated by, 55, 156.
- Homespun age, the, 239.
- Hopkins, Edward, his duel, 94.
- Howell, J. M., the legend of Canandaigua lake, 344.
- Hubbard, A. S., Julius Rodman's journey to the Rocky mountains, 1792, 179.
- Huguenot Society of America, annual meeting, election of officers, reception held, 425.
- Hull, Commodore Isaac, letter to Capt. Ludlow, January 5, 1834, 286.
- Humbert I., King of Italy, anecdotes of, 418.
- Humphreys, Col. David, aid to Washington, 248.
- Hutchinson, Thomas, governor of Massachusetts, marriages in the colony of Massachusetts, 152.
- Huyler, Capt. Adam, captures armed vessels, 182.
- Hyde, Walter, the letters of Junius, 255.
- I**NDIANS, manners and morals of the Sioux, 88; of Croatan, N. C., their origin, 132, 134, 136; loyal to the whites, 132, 136; services of, in the Revolution, war of 1812, and war of 1861, 133; population, religion, and habits, 133; traditions, 137; character and disposition, 138; language and family names, 138; the Pawnees as slaves, 233, 235; owner of slaves, 237; the Melungeons, 258; captivity of Frances Slocumb, 347.
- Iron works, first in America, 150.
- Isaacs, Abraham S., sketch of Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs, 210.
- Isaacs, Rev. Samuel M., biographical sketch of, 210; portrait, 211.
- J**ACKSON, Gen. Andrew, battles of, 421; his gold snuff-box, 421.
- Jamestown, Va., first African slaves arrived, 1619, 448.
- Jancourt, Marquis, serves with Rochambeau in the revolution, 55.
- Jay, John, the demand for education in American history, 99.
- Jefferson, Thomas, views on public education, noticed, 94; Cromwell's trial for libel on, 216; opposed to Washington, 319; first inauguration of, 338.
- Jewish Messenger, newspaper established, 212.
- Jogues, Rev. Isaac, a poem, 77.
- Johnson, Andrew, the eloquence of, 47.
- Jones, Charles C. Jr., biographical sketch of Dr. Lyman Hall, governor of Ga. and signer of the declaration of independence, 35.
- Jones, George W., services of, 108, 339.
- Jones, Lieut. William, U. S. navy, portrait, 283.
- Junius, the letters of, 255, 421, 422.
- K**ANSAS Historical Society, transactions, vol. iv., noticed, 94.
- Kapp, Frederick, sketch of, 475.
- Keary, C. F., the vikings in western christendom, noticed, 247.
- Kelby, William, Cromwell's attempt to settle families from New England in Ireland, 419.
- Kent, Chancellor James, his decision in the Cromwell libel suit, 321.
- Kentucky, the hunters of, a song, 444, 320, 421; author of, 421.
- King, Horatio, the seconds of the Graves and Cilley duel, 180; a bundle of suggestive relics, partisanship in the olden time, 314.



- Knox, Gen. Henry, an interview between, Washington and Rochambeau, 62.
- Koerner, Gustavus, sketch of, 477.
- LAFAYETTE**, Marquis de, present at interview between Washington and Rochambeau, acts as interpreter, 62.
- Lamb, Mrs. Martha J., John Ericsson, the builder of the *Monitor*, 1; the importance of culture in American history, 93; sketch of Cotton Mather, 245; biographical sketch of William H. Seward, 349; glimpses of the railroad in history, 429.
- Lansing, Mary, Raphael's painting of the Madonna, 507.
- Lamson, Rev. D. F., emigration from New England to New Brunswick, 1763-1764, 118.
- Larrabee, Capt. Adam A., graduate of West Point, 1811, 371; portrait, 372.
- Laurens, Henry, protests against the Boston port bill, leaves England for S. C., his family, 459; William Manning's letters, etc., 460.
- Lauzun, Duke de, character of, 64; his legion on a foraging expedition in R. I., 66; in Virginia, 164; number of troops under command of, 171.
- Law, John, of Indiana, biographical sketch, 409.
- Lawrence, Eugene, the first voyage of Columbus, 92.
- Lawrence, Capt. James, in command of the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake* in her engagement with the British frigate *Shannon*, his death, 260, 272, 414; memorial of, to congress, protesting against the promotion of Lieut. Morris, 283; his services, 284.
- Leopard*, engagement between the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake* and the British frigate, 413.
- Letters: Count de Fersen, aid-de-camp of Gen. Rochambeau, his letters to his father relative to the French army in the Revolutionary war, 1780-81, 55, 156; from Duke of Argyll, William E. Gladstone, and others, December, 1890, to Cyrus W. Field on the celebration of his golden wedding, 274; Cyrus W. Field to Duke of Argyll and others, December, 1890, 376; William Cullen Bryant to his mother, 1821, announcing his marriage, 176; from German officers relative to the American Revolution, 254; Lieut. Augustus C. Ludlow to his brother, May 13, 1813, describing the condition of the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake*, 270; Robert C. Ludlow to his brother, June 24, 1813, announcing the death of Lieut. Ludlow, 276; Capt. Charles Ludlow to secretary of navy, March 27, 1813, resigning his commission, 280; Commodore Chauncey, Perry, and Hull to Capt. Ludlow, on the latter's resignation from the navy, 1813, 285, 286; Commodore Hull to Capt. Ludlow, January 5, 1834, 286, 287; Robert C. Ludlow, U. S. navy, to his brother, July 3, 1811, on naval affairs, 289; letters of Gens. Grant and Sherman, 334; Alexander Hamilton to Miss Schuyler, 1780, 335; Gov. Alvarado to Commodore Jones, November 13, 1842, respecting the claims of American citizens, 398; Gen. Farum to Samuel Holton, August 4, 1787, on the proper form of government of U. S., 403; Lieut. Budd to secretary of navy, June 15, 1813, on the capture of the frigate *Chesapeake*, 414; William Manning to John Laurens, January-August, 1775, on colonial affairs, 459; Gen. Tupper to Judge Putnam, 1792, 502.
- Lexington*, burning of the steamboat, 150, 347, 415.
- Lieber, Francis, sketch of, 471.
- Lincoln, Abraham, anecdotes of, 325, 326; view of the inauguration of, 357; portrait, group of his cabinet, 367; pardons a soldier charged with sleeping while on duty, 405; recollections of, and his administration, noticed, 426.
- Linnæan Society, Lancaster, Pa., annual meeting, election of officers, 250.
- Livingston, Courtland, midshipman U. S. navy, his death in the engagement between the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake*, and the English frigate *Shannon*, 269.
- Livingston, E. B., the Livingstons of America, 416.
- Livingston, Robert, founder of the Livingston family in America, ancestry of, 416.
- Locomotive engines, the first, 10, 11, 430, 432, 437, 438, 440.
- London, England, view of the underground railway system, 445.
- Long Island, advertisement of runaway slaves from, 1814, 487.
- Long Island Sound, disasters, 150, 341, 415.
- Louisiana, Pike's exploration of, 1806, 140.
- Louisville*, officers of the U. S. gunboat, 180.
- Lucas, Fred. W., book noticed, 511.
- Ludlow, Lieut. Augustus C., his services on the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake*, 269; letter to his brother describing the condition of the frigate, 270; portrait, 271; succeeds Capt. Lawrence in command, 272, 275; his death, 276, 279, 414; ancestry of, 290.
- Ludlow, Capt. Charles, portrait, 277; his services in U. S. navy, 280; letter of, resigning from the navy, 280; letters to, 285; his death, family of, 288.
- Ludlow House, New Windsor, N. Y., views of the, 273, 275, 279.
- Ludlow, Robert C., U. S. navy, letter of, June 24, 1813, announcing the death of Lieut. Ludlow, 276; portrait, 281; his services, 288; letter to his brother on naval affairs, July 3, 1811, 289; family of, 289.
- Lynn, Mass., freeman's oath of 1641, 150; the "Anchor" tavern at, 151.
- M'CARTY**, Col. John M., his duel with Gen. Mason, 24.
- McHenry, Col. James, aid to Lafayette, 248.
- Mackinac, the fairy isle of, a sonnet, 412.
- MacLay, William, journal of, noticed, 267.
- Macon, Ga., the Union prisoners of war, 1864, and the American flag, 85.
- Mahen, David W., auditor U. S. treasury, 76.
- Maine Historical Society, November meeting, papers on the library and cabinet, by H. W. Bryant; Fort Richmond on the Kennebec, by J. F. Pratt; memorial of William H. Smith, by William B. Hayden; Sir John Moore at Castine during the Revolution, by Joseph Williamson; biographical sketch of George W. Dyer, by Llewellyn Deane; sketch of the life of Maj. Samuel Denny, by Parker McCobb Reed, 92; December meeting, papers on a lost manuscript, by James P. Baxter; the political career of John Appleton, by George F. Emery; biographical sketch of James Loring Child, by James W. Bradbury, 182; January meeting, papers on the division of the land at Agamenticus, by William M. Sargent; account of the ancient province of Mayne, by Parker M. Reed; biographical sketch of Maj. A. T. Dole, by L. B. Chapman, 257.
- Manning, William, English merchant, his letters to John Laurens, January-August, 1775, 459.
- Marmont, Augustus F., Duke of Raguja, 91.
- Mason, A. B., the letters of Junius, 422.
- Mason, Gen. Armistead T., his duel with Col. M'Carty, 24.
- Mason, Edward G., the story of James Willing, an episode of the American Revolution, 342.
- Massachusetts, emigration from, to New Brunswick, 1763-64, 118; first iron works in, 150; laws respecting marriage, 1660, 153; slavery in, 138.
- Massachusetts Historical Society, centennial anniversary, 250.
- Mather, Cotton, portrait, 185; believes in witchcraft, 245.
- Mead, Edwin D., the work of George Washington in opening up the great west, 258.
- Megginness, John F., biography of Francis Slocum, noticed, 347.
- Melungeon Indians, 258.
- Merrimac*, confederate iron-clad vessel, view of the battle between the *Monitor* and the, 15.
- Merrivewether, Washington, the Pa. pilgrim of Whittier's poem, 88.
- Meico, the royal chestnut of, 504.
- Miller, Jesse, auditor U. S. treasury, 76.
- Missouri, archaeology in, 336.
- Modern history, prelude to, noticed, 283.
- Monitor*, U. S. iron-clad vessel, 12; fac-simile of Ericsson's original pencil drawing of the, 1864, 13; completion and sailing of, 13; engages in battle with the *Merrimac*, 14; view of the battle between the, and the *Merrimac*, 15.
- Moore, Sir John, at Castine, Me., during the Revolution, 92.



Moore, Thomas, Sir Walter Scott's opinion of, 501.  
 Morris, Lieut. Charles, U. S. navy, protests against the promotion of, 280, 283.  
 Morris, George P., location of the tree in the song composed by, 506.  
 Morse, Samuel F. B., the electric telegraph, 87.  
 Morton, Ralph, the bequest to the bravest man in England, 506.  
 Mother Goose, the original, 89, 90, 180.  
 Mowatt, Capt. Henry, fires the town of Falmouth, Me., 182.  
 Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey, portrait, 97; biographical sketch of, 97.  
 Murray, James O., life of Francis Wayland, noticed, 266.  
 Murvale Eastman, novel, noticed, 184.  
 Myers, Frank A., biographical sketch of John Law, of Ind., 407.

**NELSON**, William, Berkeley and Carteret, first lords proprietors of New Jersey, 93, 259; the journal of Julius Rodman, 255.  
 New Brunswick, Canada, emigration from New England to, 1763-1764, 118.  
 New Century Historical Society, annual meeting, proposed monument to the founders of Ohio, 347.  
 New England, emigration from, to New Brunswick, 1763-1764, 118; scheme for families from, to settle in Ireland, 419.  
 Newfoundland, easy voyages to, 378.  
 New Jersey, bibliography of, in preparation, 83; first lords proprietors of, 93, 259.  
 New Jersey Historical Society, annual meeting, papers on Berkeley and Carteret, first lords proprietors of N. J.; Mahlon Dickerson, by J. C. Pumpelly; election of officers, 259.  
 Newson, Sarah, victim of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
 New Windsor, N. Y., views of the old Ludlow home at, 273, 275, 279.  
 New York, history of, noticed, 266; first white child born in, 202, 421, 507; university of the state of, 534.  
 New York City, funeral of John Ericsson, 1; view of the residence of Ericsson, 3; the iron-clad *Monitor* completed and sails from the harbor of, 13; the Beckman coach, 126; British and Hessian troops arrive at, 1793, 64; Washington's dinner party at, 1790, 178; N. J. flotillamen in the waters of, 182; capture of the armed ship *Eagle* and store-ship *Katy* during the Revolution, 182; the Elm street synagogue, 211; number of synagogues in, 1839, 211; number of synagogues in, 1889, 212; growth of Jewish families, 212; Mount Sinai hospital founded, 212; Jewish Messenger established, 212; Gen. Sherman's funeral, 263; the first ship built at, 392; the negro plot, 1741, 449; genesis of English society in, 502.  
 New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, November

meeting, paper on Berkeley and Carteret, first lords proprietors of New Jersey, by William Nelson, 93; January meeting, paper on New Jersey's Revolutionary flotillamen in New York's waters, by Philip R. Voorhees, 182; election of officers, 182; February meeting, paper on the first administration of Louis de Buade, Count Frontenac, by George Stewart, 343; April meeting, English garrison life, by Rev. Arthur W. Eaton, 424.  
 New York Historical Society, anniversary meeting, address on Connecticut Federalism, by James C. Welling, 92; December meeting, paper on the first voyage of Columbus, by Eugene Lawrence, 92; January meeting, annual reports, 181; election of officers, 182; February meeting, paper on the discovery of America by the Northmen, by Prof. Charles Sprague Smith, 257; February meeting, site for a new building purchased, paper on Castine, Me., by Edward I. Stevenson, 342; April meeting, paper on the early history of the press of U. S., 423; May meeting, the genesis of English society in N. Y., by Rev. Dr. De Costa, 509.  
 Niagara Bridge, view of, 441.  
 North Carolina, early settlements in, 127; Indians of, 132, 258; negro plots in, 456.  
 Norton, Charles L., political Americanisms, noticed, 183; hand-book of Florida, noticed, 266.  
 Notes, *January*.—The electric telegraph, 87; Mrs. Sigourney's birthplace, 87; New Jersey books and pamphlets, 88.  
*February*.—William Cullen Bryant's letter to his mother announcing his marriage, 178; Washington's presidential dinner party, 1789, 178.  
*March*.—Arithmetic in the colonial schools, 254; letters relating to the Revolutionary war, 254; Sir Walter Scott's modesty, 254.  
*April*.—Jefferson's first inauguration, 318; slavery in Massachusetts, 338; culture, 338.  
*May*.—Cromwell's attempt to settle New Englanders in Ireland, 419; the Prince de Broglie, 419; uniform of the U. S. army, 420.  
*June*.—The royal chestnut of Mexico, 504; university of the state of N. Y., 504; American history, 502.  
 Nova Scotia, emigration from New England to, 1763-64, 118; slavery in, 237; early voyages to, 382.  
**ODGEN** Island, N. Y., slaves on, 1810, 217.  
 Ohio, proposed monument to the founders of, 243.  
 Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, annual meeting, name changed to Ohio Historical Society, election of officers, 343.  
 Oneida Historical Society, March meeting, resolution on the removal of the remains of Gen. Herkimer, 424; April meeting, election of officers, 509.

**PACIFIC** coast, scenic tour of, noticed, 348.  
 Paine, Thomas, opposed to the administration of Washington, 318.  
 Palfrey, Col. William, aid-de-camp to Washington, 89.  
 Palmer, Daniel, and wife, emigrate from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia, 1763-64, 118.  
 Parker, J. M., origin of Mother Goose, 90.  
 Parker, William Harway, Amerigo Vespucci, voyages of, 1497 and 1499, 88.  
 Parvin, T. S., services of George W. Jones, 339.  
 Patents, power to grant, for inventions, 323.  
*Patterson*, the pinnacle, built, 1611, 392.  
 Patterson, Rev. George, a lost chapter in American history, the first European attempt to colonize the new world, 375.  
 Pennsylvania pilgrim of Whittier's poem, 88; convention of 1788, 215; the fate of a Pa. coquette, 327.  
 Peoples, races and, noticed, 183.  
 Perley, Israel, emigrates from Mass. to Nova Scotia, 1763-64, 118.  
 Perry, Commodore Oliver H., letter to Capt. Ludlow, Feb. 3, 1818, 286.  
 Pickering, Col. Timothy, manuscripts of, 143.  
 Pike, Zebulon M., explores interior of Louisiana, 1806, 88, 140; incident of his travels, 485.  
 Pike's Peak, Colorado, discovered, 141.  
 Pintard, John, suggests the founding of the first historical society in America, 251.  
 Political Americanisms, noticed, 183.  
 Poole, Murray Edward, universities of the world, 91.  
 Pope, Alexander, author of quotation "to err is human; to forgive, divine," 91.  
 Porter, Admiral David D., his death, services of, 262; first meeting with Gen. Sherman, 298.  
 Portuguese, voyages of the, 376.  
 Pottery, the oldest of the art, 89.  
 Pratt, J. F., Fort Richmond, on the Kennebec, 92.  
 Preble, Hartwell, victim of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
 Prosser, Gabriel, leader of the negro plot, at Richmond, Va., 1820, 449.  
 Pursley, —, discovers gold in Colorado, 485.  
**QUERIES**, *January*.—The Pa. pilgrim of Whittier's poem, 88; Amerigo Vespucci, voyages of, 1497 and 1499, 88; the identity of Lieut. Pike, 1806, 88; descendants of Sir Christopher Willoughby, 89.  
*February*.—Origin of the word Yankee, 179; ancestry of Julius Rodman, 170; ancestry of the Bauman, Belzshover, and Antis or Antes families of Pa., 179; officers of U. S. gunboat *Louisville*, 180.  
*March*.—Bellows' painting "the three eras of woman's life," 255; the letters of Junius, 253; the Willoughby family, 253.  
*April*.—Queen Elizabeth cipher, 339; Raphael's painting, 339.

- May*.—Rev. Joseph Hanmer, 420; missing portrait of DeWitt Clinton, 420; Gen. Jackson's battles, 421; Gen. Jackson's gold snuff-box, 421.
- June*.—Location of tree, of which the song "woodman, spare that tree" was composed, 506; the bravest man in England, 506; bull of Pope Alexander VI., 506.
- R**ACES and peoples, noticed, 183.
- Railroad in history, glimpses of the, 420; the first, 435; views of the early and present locomotives, 435, 438; interior view of palace car, 439.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, portrait, 127, 128; his settlement on Roanoke Island, N. C., 127; introduces tobacco into England, representation of, smoking a pipe, 128.
- Randolph, John, his duel with Henry Clay, 32.
- Rapaele, Sarah, first white child born in N. Y., 421.
- Raphael, the "Madonna" painted by, 339, 507.
- Raster, Hermann, sketch of, 478.
- Raymond, M. D., Washington at Tarrytown, N. Y., in 1783, 247.
- Reed, Parker M., the ancient province of Maine, 421.
- Reese, Pietty, and son, victims of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.
- Replies*.—*January*.—The oldest of arts, 80; Washington's aid-de-camp, 80; the original Mother Goose, 89, 90; the battle of nations, 91; author of "to err is human," 91; universities of the world, 91.
- February*.—The records of Jonathan Cilley in his duel with Wm. J. Graves, 180; Mother Goose, 180.
- March*.—The journal of Julius Rodman, 235; Washington's aid-de-camp, 235; origin of the word Yankee, or Yankoo, 256.
- April*.—George W. Jones, second to William J. Graves, in the Cilley-Graves duel, 339; the hunters of Kentucky, 340; ancestry of the Antes, Bauman, and Beltzhoover families of Pa., 340; the survivors of the steamer *Lexington*, 341.
- May*.—The hunters of Kentucky, 421; the first white child born in N. Y., 421; the letters of Junius, 421, 422.
- June*.—The profession of Joseph Hanmer, 507; Raphael's painting, 507; the sleeping sentinel, 507; first white female child born in N. Y., 507.
- Restless*, first ship built at Manhattan Island, 392.
- Reynolds, Robert M., auditor of U. S. Treasury, 76.
- Revolution of 1848, 476.
- Rhode Island Historical Society, December meeting, paper on the work of George Washington in opening up the great west, 258; annual meeting, election of officers, 259.
- Richards, Rev. William C., George Bancroft, a sonnet, 232; the fairy Isle of Mackinac, a sonnet, 412.
- Richmond, Va., the negro plot, 1800, 449.
- Roanoke Island, N. C., Raleigh's settlements on, 127.
- Robert P. Stockton, iron screw steamer built, 1838, 11.
- Rochambeau, Count de, troops under his command, 55, 56; embarks for America, 56; arrives at Newport, R. I., 58; sends dispatches to France, 60; interview with Washington, 62; disagrees with Washington, 70; requests reinforcements, 160; arrives at Yorktown, Va., 160; movements of the army under, 161; at siege of Yorktown, Va., 163; confers with Washington, 167; resigns from the army, 171.
- Rochambeau, Vicomte de, aid-de-camp to his father, 62.
- Rochester Historical Society, June meeting, memorial of Mrs. Martin B. Anderson, by Mrs. Emil Kenchling; November meeting, Rochester's first things, by Rev. F. de Ward; December meeting, the massacre of Cherry Valley, by Mrs. William S. Little, 259; January meeting, paper on the one hundred acre tract, by Howard Osgood; February meeting, the legend of Canandaigua lake, by J. M. Kowal, 344; March meeting, reminiscences of a pioneer settler, by Charles H. Wiltse, 424; April meeting, election of officers, 509.
- Rocky mountains, first journey by white men across the, 179, 255.
- Rodman, Julius, journey to the Rocky mountains, 179, 255.
- Rosevelt, Theodore, history of N. Y., noticed, 266.
- Rosengarten, J. G., the German soldier in the wars of the U. S., noticed, 96.
- Russia, social life in, noticed, 96.
- ST. JOHN'S** Parish, Va., bill for execution and punishment of negroes, 1740, 86.
- Saint Simon, Gen. Marquis de, at siege of Yorktown, Va., 162.
- Sargent, William M., the division of the twelve thousand acres at Agamenticus, Me., 257.
- Saugatuck Historical Society, annual meeting, election of officers, 344; February 23 meeting, list of papers read, 344.
- Schem, Professor Alexander J., sketch of, 479.
- Schneider, Franz Andreas Heinrich, 477.
- Schneider, George, sketch of, 477.
- Schurz, Carl, sketch of, 476.
- Scott, Julian, services of, in the war of 1861, 507.
- Scott, Sir Walter, modesty of, 254; extracts from the journals of, respecting Moore and Byron, 251.
- Screw propeller, invented, 1836, 11.
- Sea Venture*, the pinnacle, built, 1611, 392.
- Sessions, Francis C., Yellowstone Park to Alaska, noticed, 95.
- Seward, William H., portrait, 340; biographical sketch of, 349; view of the home of, 353.
- Shannon*, the battle between the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake* and the English frigate, 269.
- Sherman, Gen. William T., his death, services of, 262, 263; first meeting of Admiral Porter and, 298; letter to Gen. Grant, 334.
- Shinn, Charles Howard, some California documents, 394.
- Ship-building, early, in America, 392.
- Sigourney, Mrs. Lydia H. H., her birthplace and family, 87.
- Sioux Indians, manners and morals of, 88.
- Slavery, bill for execution and punishment of negroes in Va., 1740, 86; in Canada, 233; in Mass., 338; at Jamestown, Va., 1619, 448; insurrection of slaves in Va., 1831, 448; the negro plot at N. Y., 1740, at Richmond, Va., 1822, and Charleston, S. C., 1822, 449; negro plots in N. C. and Md., 456, 457, in Conn., 490; advertisement of runaway slaves from Long Island, 1814, 491.
- Slocum, Francis, biography of, noticed, 247.
- Smith, Charles Sprague, the discovery of America by the Northmen, 257.
- Smith, Capt. John, a defense of, 300.
- Smith, Jonathan, and wife, emigrate from Mass. to Nova Scotia, 1763-64, 118.
- Smith, Thomas L., auditor U. S. treasury, 76.
- Smith, William, auditor U. S. treasury, 76.
- Smith, Col. William S., aid to Washington, 248; his services, 249.
- Socialism, new and old, noticed, 245; argument against, 426.
- Somerset, Edward, inventor of first steam-engine, 430; portrait, 431.
- Soult, Nicole Jean, Duke of Dalmatia, 91.
- South America, universities of, 91.
- Spain, early uses of steam in, 1543, 430.
- Spencer, Emanuel, the antiquity of carriages, 120.
- Spencer, Herbert, a plea for liberty, noticed, 426.
- Spinner, Gen. Francis E., the financier, biographical sketch of, 185; portrait, 189; fac-simile of signature, 189.
- Spofford, Ainsworth R., the early history of the press of the U. S., 423.
- Staten Island, N. Y., attack on, 1780, 66.
- Steam, early uses of, 430.
- Steam vessel, built, 1837, 11.
- Stephenson, George, his first locomotive and inventions, 433; portrait, 434.
- Stevenson, Edward J., Castine, Me., 422.
- Stille, Charles J., life and times of John Dickinson, noticed, 427.
- Stone, William L., the original Mother Goose melodies, 90; letters of German officers, relating to the American Revolution, 254.
- Strunz, Gustav, sketch of, 480.
- Sturgis, Dinah, the Mother Goose melodies, 180.
- Symes, J. E., prelude to modern history, noticed, 183.

- TARRYTOWN, N. Y.**, Washington at, in 1783, 247.  
**Tarrytown Historical Society**, November meeting, paper on the importance of culture in American history, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, 93.  
**Tennessee Historical Society**, December meeting, paper on the Melungeons, by John M. Lea, 258.  
**Thwaites, Reuben G.**, the colonies, 1492-1750, noticed, 265.  
**Tilghman, Col. Trench**, aid to Washington, 248.  
 "To err is human: to forgive, divine," author of the quotation, 91.  
**Toner, Joseph M.**, Washington as a promoter of inventions, 496.  
**Tourge, Albion, Murvale Eastman**, novel, noticed, 184.  
**Travis, Joseph**, a family, murdered by slaves, in Va., 1831, 454.  
**Trevithick, Richard**, inventor of first locomotive engine, 430; portrait, 433; view of his locomotive, 435.  
**Tucker, H. D.**, the song, "hunters of Kentucky," 342.  
**Tuckerman, Charles K.**, an hour with George Bancroft, 227.  
**Tupper, Gen. Benjamin**, letter to Judge Putnam, 1792, 503.  
**Turner, Elizabeth**, victim of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
**Turner, Nat.**, leader of the negro plot in Va., 1831, 449; his confession, sketch of his life, 450; his capture, trial, and execution, 455; character of, 457.  
**UNITED STATES**, establishment of the government departments, 71; the original treasury accounting office, 71; list of auditors of the treasury, 76; first iron works, 150; treasury department established, 1789, 185; national debt, 1860, 188; view of the treasury building, Washington, D. C., 187; Pa. convention of 1788, ratifies the Constitution of, 215; first historical society in the, 231; the genesis of the, noticed, 268; early pamphlets of, 314; the power to grant patents for inventions, 323; Jefferson's first inauguration, 328; the emancipation proclamation, 365; Alaska treaty, 367; Darien canal treaty, 369; petition of the landholders of California to congress, 390; uniform of the army of, 420; the press of the, 423; first newspaper, 423; number of miles of rails in, 429; traffic of railways, 432; first African slaves, 448; view of first locomotive, 438.  
**Universities of the world**, 91.  
**Uruguay**, university of, 91.  
**VAN CORTLANDT, Pierre**, lieutenant-governor of N. Y., extract from the diary of, 1783, 247; meets Washington at Tarrytown, N. Y., 248; his services, 249.  
**Van Siclen, George W.**, year book of Holland society, noticed, 347.  
**Varnum, Gen. James M.**, letter to Samuel Holton, August 4, 1787, on the proper form of government for the U. S., 403.  
**Vaughan family**, victims of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
**Venezuela**, university and colleges of, 91.  
**Vesey, Denmark**, leader of negro plot at Charleston, S. C., 1822, 449.  
**Vespucci, Amerigo**, his voyages of 1497 and 1499, 88.  
**Vikings**, the, in western christendom, noticed, 347.  
**Vioménil, Baron**, second in command under Rochambeau in the American Revolution, 55, 57, 61, 156; succeeds Rochambeau in command of the army, 171; quick-tempered and passionate man, lack of self-control, 171.  
**Virginia**, bill for execution and punishment of negroes, 1740, 86; history of convention of 1788, noticed, 428; the slave insurrection, 1831, 448; the negro plot, 1800, 449; number of persons murdered in the slave insurrection, 454.  
**Virginia**, the pinnace, built, 1607, 392.  
**Virginia Historical Society**, February meeting, second volume of the Va. convention of 1788, completed by, 345.  
**Voorhees, Philip R., N. J.**, Revolutionary flotillamen in N. Y. waters, 182.  
**WALKER, Gen. Francis A.**, history of second army corps, noticed, 512.  
**Waller, Mrs. Levi**, and ten children, victims of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
**War** of 1861, the battle between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*, 15; the Union prisoners of war at Macon, Ga., 85; Indians serve in the, 133; gunboat *Louisville* at Fort Donelson, 180; first meeting of Admiral Porter and Gen. Sherman, 298; President Lincoln and his English visitors, 325; Lincoln and his cabinet, 326; letters of Grant and Sherman, 334; Lincoln and the sleeping sentinel, 405, 507; recollections of Lincoln, 426; number of negro troops in the, 448; history of second army corps, 512; German services, 469.  
**War-chariot of the Pharaohs**, view of the, 120.  
**Washington, D. C.**, view of the treasury building at, 187; the dome of the capitol, 193; Smithsonian institution, National museum, and the capitol, 196; view of the inauguration of Lincoln at, 357.  
**Washington, George**, his interview with Gen. Rochambeau, 62; discovers Arnold's treachery, 63; at Orangetown, N. Y., 63; given absolute military authority, 63; attacks Staten Island, 66; disagrees with Gen. Rochambeau, 70; aids-de-camp of, 89, 248, 256; at New Windsor, N. Y., 157; conference with Rochambeau, 158, 167; Gen. Carlton proposes exchange of prisoners with, 169; great-grandfather of, 174; gives dinner party at N. Y., 1789, 178; at Tarrytown, N. Y., in 1783, 247; his work in opening up the great west, 258; the opposition to the administration of, 318; newspaper abuse of, 423; as a promoter of inventions, 496; extracts from diary, 497.  
**Washington, Lieut. Col. John**, great-grandfather of Gen. Washington, his original will, 174.  
**Wayland, Francis**, life of, noticed, 266.  
**Webb, James Watson**, his connection with the Cilley-Graves duel, 33.  
**Webb, Gen. Samuel B.**, aid to Washington, 248.  
**Weeks, Stephen B.**, Raleigh's settlements on Roanoke Island, 127; the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 448.  
**Welling, James C.**, Connecticut federalism, or aristocratic politics in a social democracy, 92.  
**West Point, N. Y.**, locomotive engines built at foundry, 438.  
**White, Greenough**, philosophy of American literature, noticed, 184, 267.  
**Whitehead, Catharine**, and family, victims of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
**Whiting, Rev. Samuel**, one of the signers of the petition for a license for the tavern at Lynn, Mass., 251.  
**Wittenstein, Col.**, serves under Rochambeau in the Revolution, 57.  
**Williams family**, victims of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
**Williams, M. C.**, the homespun age, 239.  
**Williamson, Joseph, Sir John Moore** at Castine, Me., during the Revolution, 92.  
**Willing, James**, the story of, an episode of the Revolution, 342.  
**Willoughby, Sir Christopher**, descendants of, 89, 255.  
**Windom, William**, death of, his characteristics, 261.  
**Winthrop, John**, governor of Mass., regards marriage as a civil contract, 152.  
**Winthrop, Robert C.**, address at the centennial anniversary of the Mass. Historical Society, 250.  
**Wisconsin Historical Society**, annual meeting, 257.  
**Wise, Tully R.**, auditor U. S. treasury, 76.  
**Wolcott, Oliver, Jr.**, first auditor U. S. treasury, 76.  
**Woodworth, Samuel**, author of the song, "the hunters of Kentucky," 407.  
**Worcester, Marquis**, inventor of first steam engine, 430; portrait, 431.  
**Worrell, Mrs. Caswell**, and child, victims of the slave insurrection in Va., 1831, 454.  
**Wright, E. W.**, origin of Mother Goose, 90.  
**Wyoming Historical and Geological society**, annual meeting, election of officers, 344.  
**YANKEE**, origin of the word, 179, 256.  
**Yellowstone Park to Alaska**, noticed, 95.